THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP THE SECOND, KING OF SPAIN.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK I.

PHILIP II. King of Spain, ſon of the Emperor Charles V. and of Iſabella daughter of Emanuel the Great, King of Portugal, was born at Valladolid on the twenty-firſt of May, one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven. He was educated in Spain under Eccleſiaſtics, noted for their bigotry, who were appointed by his father to inſtruct him; and, by this circumſtance, ſeveral of thoſe features in his character were either formed, or greatly heightened, which were afterwards ſo conſpicuous in his conduct.

BOOK I.

Birth and education of Philip.

CHARLES, who was born in the Netherlands, and paſſed his early youth there, had, through his whole reign, entertained ſuch a manifeſt partiality for that country, as was the ſource of much diſſatisfaction to his Spaniſh ſubjects. But they were

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ſoothed by the preference which they received from the young prince, and flattered themſelves with hopes, which were not fruſtrated, of obtaining, under his adminiſtration, that ſhare of the royal favour, which the Flemings had enjoyed under the Emperor [a].

His character.

PHILIP early diſplayed ſagacity, prudence, and application: and diſcovered likewiſe a diſpoſition wonderfully ſuited to the religious inſtructions which he received. His mind, being naturally ſerious and thoughtful, gave a ready admittance to all the ſentiments of that illiberal ſuperſtition, which formed, at that time, the diſtinguiſhing character of the Spaniſh Eccleſiaſtics.

His firſt marriage.

AT the age of ſixteen, he eſpouſed Mary, a princeſs of Portugal; who died in leſs than two years after her marriage, in child-bed; when ſhe was delivered of Don Carlos, whoſe unhappy fate will be related in the ſequel.

He is called by his father to the Netherlands.

PHILIP continued to reſide in Spain, and was intruſted with the adminiſtration of the kingdom, till the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-eight. At that time, he was called by his father into the Low Countries; where he arrived, in the beginning of the following year, with a numerous retinue of Spaniſh nobles. Upon his entrance into Bruſſels, as he was ever deſirous to maintain the appearance of extraordinary piety, he went firſt to the cathedral church, to render thanks to the Almighty for his preſervation; and then proceeded to the palace. After paſſing ſome days there with the Emperor, who, in all his behaviour, diſcovered that fond affection, which is natural to a perſon in the decline of life, towards an only ſon, he ſet out to viſit the principal cities in the Low Countries, accom-

[a] Haræus Annales Belgii, &c. p. 570. Cabrera Vida del Filippe II. lib. 1. c. 1.

panied by the Regent, his aunt, the Queen Dowager of Hungary [b].

His reception there.

NOTHING could exceed the pomp with which he was every where received. In preſents, entertainments, illuminations, and tournaments, immenſe ſums were expended. The cities vied with each other in diſplaying that magnificence which their induſtry had enabled them to attain; and the people gave every where the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of their attachment [c].

His unpopular manners.

BUT Philip, in the midſt of thoſe ſcenes of feſtivity which were exhibited for his amuſement, and which were ſo well calculated to gratify a young, ambitious mind, could not conceal the natural auſterity of his temper. The Flemings obſerved, with anxiety, that there was a ſtriking contraſt between the father and the ſon. Charles was courteous and affable, but Philip, they perceived, was diſtant, haughty, and ſevere. The former could ſpeak with facility the principal languages of Europe, and uſed to diſcourſe familiarly with all his ſubjects; the latter had declined learning to ſpeak any other but the Spaniſh tongue, converſed little with the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and was almoſt inacceſſible to all, but the Spaniſh nobles. He lived in every reſpect as he had been wont to do in Spain, wore a Spaniſh dreſs, and refuſed to conform, in any thing, to the modes and cuſtoms of the Netherlands [d].

Their effect on the Flemings.

THIS behaviour, equally ungracious and impolitic, made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the Flemings, and created in them a jealouſy of the Spaniards, which they did not ſtudy to conceal. Charles having required the States to ſwear allegiance to Philip, as they had formerly done to himſelf, they rejected his requeſt; and refuſed to acknowledge Philip's right of ſucceſſion, till he

[b] Haræi Annales Ducum Brabantiæ, &c. tom. ii. p. 653. Antwerpiæ 1623. Lud. Guiccardini, lib. ii. p. 127.

[c] Meteren, p. 9.

[d] Bentivoglio, Hiſtoria della Guerra de Fiandra, p. 5. In Parigi 1645.

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engaged to exclude all foreigners from any ſhare in the government of the provinces. And even to this nothing would have made them agree, but their reſpect for the Emperor, and the awe in which they ſtood of his power; for, if the diſtemper, under which Charles laboured at this time, had proved mortal, it was believed, they would have excluded Philip from the ſovereignty, and conferred it on Maximilian his couſin, ſon of Ferdinand King of Hungary and Bohemia*.

The Emperor's ſcheme for procuring him to be elected King of the Romans.

FROM the Low Countries the Emperor carried his ſon into Germany, in order to facilitate the execution of a ſcheme, which he had lately formed, of having him elected King of the Romans. In the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty, Charles had procured that dignity for his brother Ferdinand; but having now a ſon grown up to maturity, of whoſe talents for government he entertained the moſt favourable opinion, he repented of what he had done in behalf of his brother; and reſolved, in caſe he would not reſign, to endeavour to perſuade the Electors to annul his election.

Averſion of the Germans to that ſcheme.

BUT Philip's manners were not leſs diſguſting in Germany, than they had been in the Netherlands; and ſerved rather to alienate the affections of the Germans, than to conciliate their favour. His demeanour there was equally diſtant, reſerved, and haughty. He ſuffered even princes of the higheſt rank to remain uncovered in his preſence; and, in all his behaviour, affected a degree of ſtate and dignity which the Emperors themſelves had never been accuſtomed to aſſume. The Germans dreaded the dominion of one whoſe behaviour, even when he was courting their favour, was ſo cold and diſtant. They refuſed to liſten to the Emperor's propoſal; and they were confirmed in their reſolution of rejecting it, partly, by their remembrance of the calamities which they had ſuffered from conferring

* Memoires de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 219. à Paris 1666.

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the Imperial crown on Charles, whoſe power had proved almoſt fatal to their liberty; and partly, by their attachment to Ferdinand, joined with the affection which they bore to Maximilian, whoſe character and manners were entirely the reverſe of thoſe of Philip.

CHARLES was not of a temper to be eaſily diverted from his deſigns; and, being conſcious of the great ſuperiority which he had lately acquired, from his triumph over the confederacy of Smalkalde, he doubted not of being able to compel the electors to make choice of his ſon, provided he could prevail on Ferdinand to reſign. To effectuate this, he applied himſelf with all that earneſtneſs and ardour which he commonly diſcovered in the proſecution of his ſchemes. Nothing but the intoxication of proſperity could have inſpired a prince of ſo great ſagacity as Charles, with the hopes of ſucceeding in ſo chimerical an attempt. Ferdinand himſelf was in the full vigour of life; and, conſidering the declining ſtate of his brother's health, his proſpect of the Imperial dignity was not diſtant: his ſon had been educated with the view of attaining the ſame exalted ſtation after his father's death; and, from the great popularity of his character, he had juſt ground to entertain the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs. Charles might eaſily have perceived, that no arguments which he could employ would perſuade either the father or the ſon to forego a proſpect ſo alluring. Accordingly, although he had, on all former occaſions, found his brother's behaviour towards him reſpectful and complying; and, to give greater weight to his preſent application, made uſe of the powerful interceſſion of his ſiſter the Queen Dowager of Hungary, to whom his brother was indebted for the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia; yet Ferdinand withſtood all his ſiſter's entreaties, and rejected all the offers of compenſation which were made to him. Charles had given his daughter in marriage to

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Maximilian, and intruſted him with the government of Spain, during Philip's abſence, in order to ſooth him under the diſappointment which he was preparing for him, and to remove him to a diſtance from Germany, when his father's affection was about to be put to the trial. This young Prince was greatly alarmed when he heard of the deſign which was carrying on againſt him; and having left Spain, and returned to Germany, he omitted nothing in his power, to confirm his father's purpoſe, and to render it unalterable. Charles ſaw at laſt the neceſſity of dropping, for the preſent, the proſecution of his ſcheme: and Philip left Germany, much diſſatisfied with the Electors, and other German princes, but with none more than with his kinſmen [f].

Philip returns to Spain.

FROM Germany he returned to Spain, where he held the regency of the kingdom, and acquitted himſelf of his charge, in ſuch a manner as led his ſubjects to form a favourable opinion of his prudence, his induſtry, and his capacity for government. But the cotemporary hiſtorians have mentioned no particulars of his conduct during this period, that deſerve to be recorded. He remained in Spain till his marriage with the queen of England, in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-four.

His marriage with the queen of England.

No ſooner was Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. ſeated on the throne, than Charles, whoſe ruling paſſion, towards the cloſe of his reign, was to aggrandiſe his ſon, conceived the deſign of uniting England to his other dominions, by the marriage of Philip with the queen. Had Philip declined this match, it was believed, that Charles would have offered himſelf to Mary, rather than have loſt ſo inviting an opportunity of augmenting his power. But the ſon was not leſs governed by ambition than the father; and

[f] Lud. Guicciardin. lib. ii. p. 128. Pallavicini Iſtoria di Concilio di Trento, lib. xi. c. 15. Thuanus, lib. vii. ab initio. Extrait des lettres de Marillac au Roy de France en Ribier, July 22, 1550.

readily

readily conſented, at the age of twenty-ſix, to marry a princeſs of thirty-ſeven, diſagreeable in her temper and manners, homely in her perſon, and entirely deſtitute of every female charm [s].

WHEN Charles found that Philip was not averſe to the marriage, he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the court of London to propoſe it; and Mary heſitated not a moment in declaring her conſent. Philip's bigotry, which rendered him unamiable in the eyes of others, recommended him to her. She was ever ſtrongly attached to her mother's family; and ſhe conſidered how much ſo powerful an alliance would enable her to execute her favourite ſcheme of extirpating hereſy from her dominions.

Objections of the Engliſh againſt it.

MARY'S ſubjects had not the ſame reaſons with their ſovereign to make them fond of this alliance. They had beheld, for more than thirty years, that reſtleſs ambition with which the emperor was actuated: and they now received a ſtriking proof of Philip's inordinate thirſt after power, by his agreeing ſo readily to the intended marriage, to which there was nothing but motives of ambition that could allure him. They were all well acquainted with his private character, and the prejudices which his haughty demeanour had, a few years before, created againſt him in Germany and the Netherlands. They dreaded the conſequences of having their queen, whoſe temper was naturally rigid and ſevere, united to a prince of ſo imperious a character. They trembled at the thoughts of the danger to which their liberty and independence would be expoſed; and they were filled with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions of falling under the dominion of the Spaniards; a nation noted for their violent uſe of power in the Netherlands and Italy, infamous for the barbarities which they had exerciſed over the natives of America, and diſtinguiſhed,

[s] Ribier, tom. ii. p. 457.

above

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above all other nations, for their bigotted attachment to the church of Rome [h].

Charles labours to remove them.

To quiet theſe alarms, Charles had recourſe to different expedients. He prevailed on Mary to ſuſpend her perſecution of the Proteſtants; and to reſume the title of Supreme Head of the Church, which ſhe had laid aſide ſome months before. He ſent over immenſe ſums of money to be diſtributed among the members of parliament; and he ordered the marriage articles to be drawn in terms the moſt honourable and advantageous to Mary and her ſubjects.

By theſe articles it was provided, that Philip ſhould have only the name of King, while the ſovereign power ſhould remain entire in the hands of Mary; that no foreigner ſhould be admitted into any public employment; no innovation made in the laws and cuſtoms, and no violation offered to the rights or privileges of the nation; that England ſhould not, in conſequence of the marriage, be involved in any war between France and Spain; that the heirs of the marriage ſhould not only inherit the Netherlands and England, but, in the event of Don Carlos's dying without iſſue, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain, and to the reſt of Philip's hereditary dominions; and that if the queen ſhould die without iſſue, Philip ſhould have no claim to any ſhare in the government of England, but the crown of that kingdom ſhould devolve immediately to the lawful heir [i].

His ſucceſs.

These conceſſions were not altogether without effect. They did not indeed entirely diſpel the apprehenſions that were entertained; and many perſons thought that the more advantageous the conditions offered were, there was ſo much the greater reaſon for ſuſpecting that Charles and his ſon had no ſerious intention to

[h] Burnet's Ref. part ii. p. 284; and Carte, vol. ii. p. 297.
[i] Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. part ii. b. ii. p. 260. Carte, b. xvii.

fulfil

fulfil them. But they furniſhed the courtiers, and other partizans of the Spaniſh match, with ſpecious arguments in its defence: and deprived thoſe who ſtill remained averſe to it, of any plauſible pretext under which they might have procured an aſſociation againſt it. This was attempted by Sir Thomas Wiat and others, who ſucceeded ſo far, as to perſuade ſeveral hundreds of the people to take up arms; but this inconſiderable and ill-concerted inſurrection was quickly ſuppreſſed, and ſerved only to confirm that power of the queen to diſpoſe of herſelf in marriage, which the malcontents intended to have controuled [k].

EVERY obſtacle being removed, and the articles of marriage ratified by parliament, Mary now employed herſelf in preparing for the reception of her future huſband; for whom, although ſhe had never ſeen him, ſhe had conceived ſo violent a paſſion, as filled her mind with the moſt anxious impatience for his arrival. She was, at the ſame time, extremely mortified with his coldneſs towards her; and complained, that, although ſhe had ſo readily conſented to beſtow upon him both her kingdom and herſelf, he had never vouchſafed to write her a letter on the ſubject, or to ſatisfy her as to the cauſes of his delay in coming to England. At length he ſent the Marquis De las Navas to inform her that every thing was in readineſs for his leaving Spain. But before his departure, the Spaniſh hiſtorians relate, that, having viſited the ſhrine of St. Jago in Galicia, he there heard maſs with much devotion; kneeling on the ground, without allowing the monks to furniſh him with a cuſhion; and recommending himſelf to the protection of the patron ſaint [l].

HE ſet ſail from Corunna, in the beginning of July, one thouſand five hundred and fifty-four, and arrived at Southampton, after

Philip's arrival in England.

[k] Burnet, p. 262. Carte.

[l] Carte, b. xvii. p. 318. Cabrera, lib. i. c. 4.

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after a proſperous voyage, on the 19th or 20th of the ſame month. In a few days after his arrival, the marriage ceremony was performed at Wincheſter; where Philip received, from the emperor's ambaſſador, the inveſtiture of Naples, Sicily, and Milan, together with the titular kingdom of Jeruſalem; all which Charles reſigned to him on this occaſion, as a teſtimony of the joy and ſatisfaction which the marriage afforded him, and in order to render his ſon a huſband more worthy of his royal ſpouſe [m].

His behaviour and manners.

HAVING brought with him a numerous train of Spaniſh nobility, Philip ſtudied to dazzle the eyes of the Engliſh, by the pomp and ſplendour of his public appearances, and to gain their affections by his liberality. But he could not, with all his endeavours, hide the blemiſhes of his character. His natural reſerve and haughtineſs ſtill appeared in all his demeanour. He was too much a Spaniard to reliſh any thing that was not Spaniſh. He could, on no occaſion, comply with the manners of the Engliſh. He ſuffered even the chief nobility to remain in his preſence without taking any notice of them; allowed no perſon to approach him without having previouſly obtained permiſſion; and thus made himſelf difficult of acceſs, even to thoſe whoſe favour he wiſhed to conciliate or ſecure [n].

He diſcovers his ambitious views.

IT ſoon appeared, how little he was ſatisfied with that article of his marriage-treaty, by which he was excluded from the government. At his deſire, and in order to gain his affections, which Mary regarded more than either the intereſt of her people, or even her own importance in the kingdom, ſhe requeſted of the parliament to declare him the preſumptive heir of

[m] Burnet's Ref. p. ii. b. 2. Carte, b. xvii. p. 313. Summonte Hiſt. di Napoli, libro 9no, p. 263.

[n] Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. v. ii. p. 288. Carte, b. 17. p. 313.

"His carriage," ſays Biſhop Burnet, "was ſuch, that the acting him and his Spaniards "was one of the great diverſions of queen Elizabeth's court."

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the crown, and to commit the adminiſtration of the ſtate into his hands.

BOTH houſes had hitherto ſhewn themſelves extremely obſequious to her will; but they ſaw now the neceſſity of putting an end to their compliances. They eaſily perceived the ſpirit and tendency of her demands, and conſidered them as an indubitable proof of her determined purpoſe to gratify her huſband's ambition, without regard to the fatal conſequences that might follow. They rejected both her requeſts. Although they had conſented to Philip's bearing the title of King, they would not agree to the ceremony of his coronation; and they obſtinately refuſed to aſſiſt the Emperor in the war which he was carrying on againſt France°.

His artifice.

TO overcome the prejudices, which, from this conduct of the parliament, Philip perceived were entertained againſt him, he reſolved to curb his natural diſpoſition, and to aſſume the appearance of moderation. With this deſign, he obtained from Mary the releaſe of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, whom ſhe had thrown into priſon, on ſuſpicion of their diſſatisfaction to her government. But there was no part of his conduct better calculated to conciliate the favour of the Engliſh, than his protection of the lady Elizabeth; againſt whom Mary had given ſuch proofs of jealouſy and reſentment, as rendered the nation extremely anxious with regard to the life of that princeſs. It was unfortunate, however, for Philip, that the favour which he ſhowed towards Elizabeth admitted of an interpretation very different from what he expected would have been put upon it. Men were not inclined to aſcribe to generoſity, in a prince of his intereſted character, an action to which he muſt have been prompted by this political conſideration, that if Elizabeth

° Carte, p. 315.

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were cut off, and Mary to die without iſſue, England would be inherited by the queen of Scots: by whoſe marriage with the Dauphin, both the crowns of Scotland and of England would be united to that of France [p].

Perſecution of the Proteſtants.

MARY had, in order to ingratiate herſelf with the people, and to advance the views of her huſband, ſuſpended her perſecution of the Reformers. But her zeal and bigotry were too violent to be long reſtrained; and Philip was not inclined, either from principle or temper, to oppoſe thoſe ſanguinary meaſures which ſhe was now determined to purſue. Courts no leſs arbitrary than the Spaniſh Inquiſition were inſtituted; and the ſame barbarous puniſhments, which that tribunal denounces, were inflicted on great numbers of perſons without diſtinction of either age or ſex. No perſon doubted that Mary was of herſelf ſufficiently prone to employ thoſe dreadful ſeverities which were exerciſed; but as all men knew how implicitly ſhe was devoted to her huſband's will, they could not help conſidering them as the conſequence of either his advice or his approbation [q]. Philip was ſenſible of the odium to which he was expoſed; and, in order to remove or leſſen it, he had recourſe to the ridiculous expedient of making his confeſſor, a Franciſcan Friar, deliver before him, a ſermon in favour of toleration [r]. But notwithſtanding this artifice, which was too groſs to impoſe upon any perſon, and though Philip ſeldom appeared openly to act a part in the adminiſtration, the prepoſ-

[p] Burnet, vol. ii. b. ii. p. 287. Carte, p. 316. Camden's Apparatus.

[q] Philip's hiſtorian Cabrera aſcribes the perſecutions to Philip as matter of praiſe, p. 28. lib. i. c. 7.

[r] This ſermon was delivered on the 10th of February; yet, on the 24th of May following, Philip joined with Mary, upon occaſion of Bonner's declining to take all the odium of the perſecution upon himſelf, in writing to that brutal prelate, requiring him to proceed in the execution of the laws againſt Heretics; ſo as that, through his good furtherance, both God's glory may be the better advanced, and the commonwealth the more quietly governed. Burnet's Collection of Records, No. 20.

ſeſſions againſt him ſtill remained. All his conduct was beheld with an eye of watchful jealouſy and diſtruſt; nor was it poſſible for Mary to obtain any higher conceſſion from the parliament in his favour, than this, that if ſhe ſhould die, and leave iſſue behind her, Philip ſhould be protector during the minority.

Philip leaves England.

FOR ſeveral months, this conceſſion was not deemed ſo inſignificant as it afterwards proved. A belief prevailed throughout the kingdom, that Mary was with child, and Philip, and even Mary herſelf believed it[t]. Philip remained in England while there was any reaſon to entertain hopes of ſo deſirable an event; which might have realized that power at which he had aſpired ever ſince his arrival in that kingdom. But when thoſe appearances, which gave riſe to the belief of Mary's pregnancy, were found to be nothing but the approach of a dropſy; when all proſpect of her ever having children was annihilated, and her anxiety for offſpring, joined with her natural ſourneſs and jealouſy, had preyed upon her health, and rendered her perſon, as well as her converſation, diſagreeable; Philip left England, after having ſtaid in it fourteen months, and paſſed over to the Netherlands[u].

The emperor's reſignation of his dominions.

THERE the emperor was preparing to execute a reſolution which he had formed of reſigning his dominions, in order to paſs the remainder of his life in retirement. At the time of Philip's marriage with the Queen of England, he had ceded to him the kingdom of Naples, and the Dutchy of Milan; and had little reaſon to be ſatisfied with his ſon's behaviour towards him, after giving ſo ſtrong a proof of his paternal affection and munificence.

[t] On the 30th of April, a report was ſpread that ſhe was actually delivered of a ſon. All the bells in London were ſet a ringing. Bonfires were lighted up in every corner of the city. A Te deum was ſung in the cathedral of St. Paul's; and a prieſt indulged his credulity to ſuch a height as to deſcribe, with great particularity, the proportions and features of the young prince, whom he repreſented as the healthieſt and moſt beautiful that had been ever ſeen. Carte, p. 317.

[u] Haræus, Carte, p. 317. Burnet, part II. b. ii. p. 312.

Philip,

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Philip, beſides refuſing to come over to Flanders, where Charles was deſirous of ſeeing him, unleſs he were inveſted with ſome authority in that country, during his abode in it, inſiſted, that the grant of the Italian States ſhould be abſolute and unconditional; and no ſooner had he entered upon the poſſeſſion of them, than he diſplaced his father's miniſters, in order to make room for creatures of his own. This undutiful behaviour did not deter the emperor from reſolving to reſign to his ſon all the reſt of his dominions. On the contrary, it appears to have been his principal motive in forming this reſolution; as it gave him a clear diſcovery of Philip's imperious temper, and ſhewed that he had now reduced himſelf to the diſagreeable alternative, of either contending with him, or of yielding to him [u].

HAD Charles enjoyed the ſame vigour, either of body or of mind, which he poſſeſſed ſome years before, it is probable that Philip's behaviour would have operated upon him very differently, and have determined him to abridge, rather than to augment, his ſon's power. But finding himſelf worn out, partly by the excruciating pain which he had long ſuffered from frequent returns of the gout, and partly by his inceſſant activity, and continual application to buſineſs, he perceived that he muſt, for the future, either truſt to his miniſters, which he had hitherto avoided; or ſink ere long under the weight of the government of ſo many States as were ſubject to his dominion. It was therefore become neceſſary for him to diſengage himſelf from, at leaſt, a part of thoſe cares which oppreſſed him. If Philip's ambition had been more moderate, or his temper of mind more complying, Charles might have inveſted him with the chief branches of adminiſtration, and have ſtill retained the ſupreme authority; or, after reſigning

[u] L'Eveſque, p. 24, 25. Summonte, lib. ix. p. 263.

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to him the ſovereignty of a part of his dominions, he might have reſerved the remainder in his own hands; but he foreſaw that Philip's temper would, in either of theſe caſes, have proved the ſource of continual uneaſineſs to him; and this he could not, with dignity, avoid, by any other means, than by retiring from the world, and making an abſolute ceſſion of his whole dominions [x].

DETERMINED by theſe motives, he reſigned the ſovereignty of the Low Countries in October 1555, and that of Spain in the month of January immediately following. But he retained poſſeſſion of his Imperial crown for ſeveral months longer, till he had made another fruitleſs attempt to perſuade his brother to relinquiſh his claim to the empire, in behalf of Philip. Charles was retiring from the world under a conviction of the vanity of human greatneſs, yet he was as ſolicitous to ſecure an acceſſion of that greatneſs to his ſon, as if he had believed that it conſtituted the ſupreme felicity of man. His own experience had furniſhed him with the ſtrongeſt proof, that dominions ſo widely extended, conferred the appearance of power more than the ſubſtance or reality; that they are the ſource of continual and diſtracting anxiety; that they engage the poſſeſſor in enterpriſes beyond his ſtrength, and that the right government of them is a taſk above the capacity of any individual: yet he deſired nothing ſo much, as to load his ſon with that burden, which he himſelf had found intolerable, and under which he had ſunk long before the period when old age obliges men to quit the ſcenes of active life. Charles had long foſtered that prepoſterous ambition of princes, which prompts them to the purſuit of power, without regard to the great end for which alone it is deſirable, the happineſs of their ſubjects: and it was become impoſſible for him entirely to diveſt himſelf of this paſſion, although he was determined never more to indulge it.

[x] Ribier, p. 485.

BOOK I.

The truce of Vaucelles.

IT is much eaſier to enter into the motives from which he acted, with reſpect to another part of his conduct at this time. Previouſly to his abdication, he had been exceedingly deſirous to have peace eſtabliſhed with France, in order to give his ſon leiſure to recover his dominions from that exhauſted ſtate to which his own continual wars, together with the ſums tranſmitted to England, had reduced them. In this, however, all his attempts had hitherto failed. But, having been detained in the Low Countries by ſickneſs and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, much longer than he intended, he had the ſatisfaction, before his departure, to employ his endeavours ſucceſsfully in effectuating the truce of Vaucelles: and, before the expiration of that truce, there was ground to hope, that the ſeveral points of difference between his ſon and the French monarch would be amicably adjuſted. Soon after this, he ſet out for his retreat in Spain: where, having buried, in the ſolitude of of a convent, all his ſchemes of glory and ambition, he ſeldom inquired, or even ſuffered his domeſtics to inform him, concerning what was paſſing in the world [y].

[y] Gianone, tom. iv. p. 198.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK II.

BOOK II.

Philip's power and dominions.

NOTWITHSTANDING Charles was disappointed in his scheme of transmitting the empire to his son, Philip was still the most powerful monarch of the age. In Europe, besides the united kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, he possessed the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Dutchy of Milan, Franche-Compté, and the Netherlands; in Africa, Tunis, Oran, the Cape-Verd, and the Canary Islands; in Asia, the Philippine and Sunda Islands, and a part of the Moluccas; and in America, the empires of Peru and Mexico, New Spain and Chili, besides Hispaniola, Cuba, and many other of the American islands. The mines of Mexico, Chili, and Potosi, were, at the time of Philip's accession, a source of greater wealth than almost all the other princes in Europe were possessed of[a] His fleet was much more

[a] They brought him 25,000,000 of guildres yearly. Meteren.

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numerous than that of any other European power. His troops were better diſciplined, and more accuſtomed to war and victory: and they were commanded by the ableſt and moſt experienced generals of the age.

SUCH extenſive power, and ſuch copious reſources, could not but appear extremely formidable to the other European States; eſpecially when they reflected upon the dark, imperious character of the prince to whom they belonged. For although Philip had neither his father's valour, nor his enterpriſing activity, yet he was plodding, induſtrious, and penetrating. He had already ſhewn that his ambition was not leſs ardent than that of the emperor; and it was the more to be dreaded, as it was concealed under the cloak of fervent zeal for the intereſt of religion.

State of Europe.

BUT how much ſoever Philip's power and character were fitted to excite jealouſy in the neighbouring ſtates, there were few of them, at that period, in a condition to counteract his deſigns.

Of England.

The Engliſh had, ſince Mary's acceſſion, loſt much of that importance in Europe, which they had enjoyed for half a century before. Commerce was either neglected, or oppreſſed; their troops were undiſciplined, and diſuſed to war; and their navy was in the moſt languiſhing condition. During Philip's reſidence among them, they had given proof of their native ſpirit of independence, by refuſing to admit him to any ſhare of the adminiſtration; but they had, in every thing elſe, ſhewn themſelves tamely ſubmiſſive to the will of their weak, bigotted queen: and there was ground to apprehend, that, inſtead of oppoſing, they would be compelled by her to aſſiſt him, in the execution of any violent or hoſtile plan, which his ambition or bigotry might prompt him to purſue.

Of Germany.

HE had no greater reaſon to expect oppoſition from Germany than from England. For whatever diſguſt his competition with Ferdinand

Ferdinand for the Imperial crown might have created, there was no probability that it would ever occaſion any violent diſſenſion, or open rupture between them. Ferdinand was not yet fully ſettled in the poſſeſſion of Hungary. He was diſquieted with apprehenſions that the Sultan would ere long renew hoſtilities againſt him in that kingdom; and, in order to provide againſt this event, and ſecure to himſelf that ſupport, of which, in caſe it ſhould happen, he would ſtand in need, he laboured aſſiduouſly to eſtabliſh concord among the ſeveral princes of the Germanic body, and to compoſe the animoſities which the differences in religion had produced.

Of Portugal.

PORTUGAL had, at this time, reached the ſummit of its proſperity and glory. Thoſe diſcoveries and conqueſts in the moſt diſtant regions of the globe, which had advanced that kingdom to a rank ſo much ſuperior to what it held before, were almoſt completed. But John the Third, under whoſe government and auſpices ſo great a number of diſcoveries and conqueſts had been made, was now in the decline of life; beloved by his people; reſpected by his neighbours; and only ſolicitous to maintain peace, and to render his ſubjects happy.

Denmark and Sweden.

THE thrones of Denmark and Sweden were filled by Chriſtiern the Third and Guſtavus Vaſa. Under the juſt and mild adminiſtration of the former monarch, Denmark was beginning to recover from that exhauſted ſtate to which civil diſſenſions, the calamities of foreign war, and the oppreſſion of an odious tyrant lately dethroned, had reduced it: while the Swedes, who, under Guſtavus, had thrown off the yoke of the neighbouring kingdom, and beſtowed their crown upon their brave deliverer, were enjoying under him the ſweets of liberty, and laying the foundation of that greatneſs to which they afterwards attained. Neither of theſe nations, however, were yet in a condition to take a part in

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the affairs of the other European powers; and the patriotic princes who ruled over them, found ſufficient employment in eſtabliſhing tranquillity within their kingdoms.

Of the Pope's dominions.

IN Italy, the dominions of the church, lately much diminiſhed by the grant which Paul the Third had made of the Dutchies of Parma and Placentia to Octavio Farneſe his grandſon, were ſhut up between the Dutchy of Milan on the one hand, and the kingdom of Naples on the other. The ſovereign Pontiff, therefore, was more dependent on Philip, than upon any other prince, and was much more likely to find his intereſt in courting that monarch's favour, than in promoting any ſcheme of oppoſition to his deſigns.

Tuſcany.

COSMO de Medici, duke of Tuſcany, had been greatly indebted to the late emperor for the ſovereignty which he enjoyed; and his dominions were, by the emperor's favour and his own wiſe policy, become ſo conſiderable, that only the viceroy of Naples, or the governor of Milan, could give him any juſt ground of uneaſineſs. Both gratitude and intereſt ſeemed to call on that political prince to attach himſelf to the king of Spain, and to cultivate his friendſhip.

Savoy, Parma, and Placentia.

OCTAVIO de Farneſe, duke of Parma, had been deprived of the dutchy of Placentia by the emperor; and Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy, had been ſtript, in his father's lifetime, both of Savoy and Piedmont, by the French. Without the favour of Philip, neither of theſe two princes had any proſpect of recovering his dominions.

Venice.

THE republic of Venice, formerly ſo powerful and ambitious, had, after the league of Cambray, diſcovered the folly of their ambition; and they now adhered ſtedfaſtly to the cautious maxim of maintaining a ſtrict neutrality in all the quarrels of the European powers; whoſe friendſhip, and eſpecially that

of

of Philip, they were ſolicitous to ſecure, as the only means by which the invaſions of their formidable enemy, the Turkiſh Sultan, could be repelled.

Of France.

FROM this view of the European States at the time of Philip's acceſſion, it is evident there was no other counterpoiſe in Chriſtendom to his power, but France: which was not indeed of ſo great extent as Philip's dominions, but poſſeſſed ſuch advantages in its ſituation, in its people, and in its government, as made it at leaſt the ſecond kingdom in Europe, and qualified it to ſerve as a bulwark of the general liberty, againſt the power of Spain. Although the frontier of this mighty monarchy did not reach ſo far as it does at preſent, yet it extended from the Britiſh Channel to the Mediterranean and Italy, and from the Pyrenees to Germany and the Netherlands; and, through all that ſpace, was unmixt with the territories of any other ſtate; lying between Philip's dominions in Spain or Italy, and the Netherlands; and in the time of war, rendering it difficult for his troops in one of theſe countries, to co-operate with thoſe in the other.

Character of the French.

DURING the reigns of ſeveral princes, the French nation had been accuſtomed almoſt perpetually to the uſe of arms, and had never become ſufficiently acquainted either with the arts, or with the ſweets of peace, to be averſe to war. The ſpirit of chivalry, the heroic valour, and romantic love of military fame, which, whilſt the feudal government ſubſiſted, proved the ſource of ſo many calamities to the kingdom, ſtill animated in a high degree the French nobility; but having taken a different direction, inſtead of engaging them in hoſtilities againſt one another, it inflamed them with the laudable ambition of courting toil and danger in ſupport of the glory of the nation and the crown.

Henry II.

HENRY the Second, who governed this warlike people, had already ſhewn himſelf poſſeſſed of no inconſiderable ſhare of

that

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that ardent and ambitious ſpirit by which his father was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. He had not indeed the bold military genius of Francis; but this defect in his character was abundantly ſupplied by his generals: among whom were the Mareſchal de Briſac, the conqueror of Piedmont; the Conſtable Montmorency, ſo much celebrated for his heroic valour, and Francis of Lorrain duke of Guiſe, who had lately acquired immortal honour by his defence of Metz againſt the emperor.

His allies.

HENRY was formidable, from his connexions with foreign powers, as well as on account of his internal reſources. The queen of Scots having been educated at his court, and betrothed to his eldeſt ſon, her kingdom was likely to become a province of France. And, in imitation of his father, he had courted aſſiduouſly the friendſhip of the Swiſs, and entered into a ſtrict alliance with the Sultan; as from the former he might, in caſe of a rupture with Spain, receive aſſiſtance by land, and from the latter by ſea, on the coaſts of Spain and Italy.

It appeared, almoſt from the beginning of Henry's reign, that he had thoroughly imbibed his father's paſſions, his ambition to recover poſſeſſion of thoſe Italian dominions which had occaſioned ſo many bloody wars, and his jealouſy of the Spaniſh or Auſtrian power and greatneſs.

PROMPTED by theſe paſſions, he had, in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-one, taken Octavio Farneſe, duke of Parma, under his protection, in oppoſition both to the pope and to the emperor. And he had entered into a league againſt Charles, with the Proteſtant princes in Germany: than which, he could not have given a ſtronger demonſtration of his jealouſy of the emperor; ſince the principal end of this alliance was, to ſave from ruin in Germany, that religion, the profeſſors of which he had perſecuted in France with unrelenting rigour. The war

which

which was the conſequence of this alliance, continued with various ſucceſs, till a ſtop was put to it for a few months by the truce of Vaucelles above mentioned. By this truce the contending parties were to retain poſſeſſion of their conqueſts for five years, unleſs their reſpective claims were adjuſted before the expiration of that term. This was the principal article; and, in virtue of it, not only Metz and Toul and Verdun, which rendered France ſecure on the German frontier, but almoſt the whole of Savoy and Piedmont (the reſtoration of which the emperor was in honour bound to procure to the duke of Savoy), were to remain in the hands of the French. Charles would never have conſented to this condition, which he had rejected when it was propoſed in the preceding year, had he not thought it neceſſary that his ſon ſhould enjoy ſome years of peace. Henry, on the other hand, had the higheſt reaſon to be ſatisfied; yet it was by him the truce was violated. Into this meaſure, of which he had much reaſon afterwards to repent, he was drawn, partly by that hereditary ambition, which had impelled ſo many of his predeceſſors to attempt to gain a footing in Italy, and partly by the intereſted counſels of the family of Guiſe; but chiefly by the ſolicitations and importunity of the ſovereign pontiff.

Paul the Fourth, one of the moſt ſingular characters of the age, and whoſe conduct furniſhed, at this time, a ſtriking contraſt to that of the emperor, had been lately advanced to the papacy; after having paſſed the greateſt part of his life either in the ſtudy of the learned languages and ſcholaſtic theology, or in the auſterities of a cloiſter. Born of the family of Caraffa in the kingdom of Naples, he had in his youth enjoyed ſeveral rich preferments, and been employed as a nuncio in Naples, in Spain, and in England. But having grown tired of this public life, he had relinquiſhed the paths of ambition; reſigned his bene-

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fices; inſtituted an order of Monks, and lived, for ſeveral years, in ſtrict conformity to the rigid rules which he preſcribed them. Paul the Third with difficulty perſuaded him to quit his retirement, and accept of the dignity of Cardinal: nor would he have been induced to comply with the pope's requeſt, by any other motive, but the hope of contributing towards the extirpation of the Lutheran hereſy; againſt which he had ever ſhewn the moſt furious and bigotted zeal. He was the oldeſt cardinal when Marcellus died; and this circumſtance had ſerved not a little to promote his election; as it flattered the other competitors with the proſpect of ſeeing, ere long, another vacancy in the papal chair.

But his advanced age had given him neither moderation nor prudence, nor any uſeful acquaintance with the world. He talked perpetually of the power belonging to the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and of his ſuperiority to princes, in terms that might have been ſuffered in the dark ages of the church, but which, from the revolution men's ſentiments had lately undergone, appeared, even to his courtiers, ridiculous and extravagant. In all his demeanour he diſcovered a degree of haughtineſs, that aſtoniſhed thoſe who obſerved it; and he began his pontificate at the age of ſeventy-nine, with an impetuoſity and violence ſeldom to be met with in the ardor of youth [b].

His nephews.

He had long held a diſtinguiſhed character for ſanctity of manners, and diſintereſted zeal for the honour of the Holy See; but having now attained the higheſt dignity to which he could aſpire, and having no longer any reaſon to diſguiſe his ſentiments, he devoted himſelf, with a blind attachment, to his nephews, and ſeemed to have no other aim, in the exerciſe of his pontifical power, than to advance their intereſts, and aſſiſt them

[b] F. Paul, lib. v. Onuphrii Panvinni vita Pauli IV. Thuani, lib. xv. c. 12. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. part ii. b. ii.

in

in the execution of their ambitious deſigns. Unfortunately for the peace of Europe, their ambition could not be ſatisfied with the dignities, which, as ſupreme pontiff, he had the power of conferring; although he beſtowed on Count Montorio, his eldeſt nephew, the dukedom of Palliano, of which he had violently diſpoſſeſſed Mark Antony Colonna; on the ſecond, the government of Rome, with the county of Bagno, and the title of Marquis of Montebello; and had made the youngeſt a cardinal, and legate of Bologna. But theſe men aſpired at ſome ſovereign or independent eſtabliſhment, ſuch as had been procured by Leo and Clement, for the Medici; and by Paul the Third, for the family of Farneſe. They ſaw no other means of accompliſhing their deſign, but by diſpoſſeſſing the Emperor and his ſon of their Italian dominions: and to attempt this, both Paul and his nephews were incited by motives of reſentment, as well as intereſt. The younger Caraffa, formerly a ſoldier, and one of the knights of Malta, though now a cardinal, having, when he ſerved in the emperor's army in Germany, challenged a Spaniſh officer to ſingle combat, Charles had put him under arreſt; and afterwards, when the pope had conferred on him the priory of St. Jerom in Naples, the emperor's viceroy had prevented him from entering on the poſſeſſion of it[c].

PAUL himſelf, during his reſidence as nuncio in Spain, having acquired the eſteem of Ferdinand the Catholic, had been admitted by him into the council of ſtate, and had retained his place there after the acceſſion of Charles. But having on ſome occaſion ſpoken with too much freedom againſt the emperor in the conſiſtory at Rome, Charles had teſtified his diſpleaſure with him, by ordering his name to be ſtruck out of the liſt of counſellors. Not ſatisfied with this, he had firſt oppoſed his being admitted to the arch-

[c] Pallavicini, p. 60. Father Paul, lib. v.

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biſhopric of Naples, to which Paul the Third had preſented him, and afterwards, though Charles was perſuaded by Julius the Third to conſent to his inveſtiture, yet he had moleſted him in the exerciſe of his juriſdiction; and had exerted all his influence in the conclave to prevent his advancement to the papal throne [d].

THESE injuries made a deep impreſſion on the proud and fiery temper of the pontiff; nor was he ſolicitous to conceal his indignation. Even in the preſence of the Cardinals of the Imperial party, he uſed to inveigh bitterly againſt the emperor, and to join menaces to his invectives; and would ſometimes add, that they might inform their maſter, if they pleaſed, of what he ſaid.

Their artifices.

IT is probable, however, that he would not have formed the reſolution of having recourſe to arms, had not his nephews, and particularly the cardinal, the moſt ambitious and intriguing, employed various artifices to deceive him. They gave him information of nocturnal aſſemblies held in Rome, by the partiſans of the emperor, at which, meaſures were concerted prejudicial to his authority; they informed him of a detection which they had made, of perſons hired by the emperor, to poiſon, or aſſaſſinate both him and them; and they carried him intercepted letters writ in cypher, from which, according to the Cardinal's interpretation, it appeared, that ſome ſecret machinations were in agitation againſt him among the Imperial miniſters.

BY theſe and other means of the ſame nature, they at once rouſed his fears, and inflamed his reſentment; and he at length reſolved, in conformity with their advice, to endeavour to engage the French king, whoſe war with the emperor ſtill ſubſiſted, to enter into a treaty of alliance with him againſt the common enemy.

[d] Summonte, lib. x. p. 269. Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. xiv. F. Paul, lib. v.

Paul forms an alliance with Henry II.

HAVING, with this view, called ſuch of his courtiers as he confided in, to a ſecret conference, at which he deſired the French ambaſſador, Avanſon, to be preſent; he informed them of the ſeveral plots againſt him and his nephews, which had fortunately been detected, and lamented that, notwithſtanding it had pleaſed God to appoint him to be the common father of Chriſtians, yet his children, by conſpiring to accompliſh his deſtruction, had reduced him to the painful neceſſity of taking arms againſt them, in order to maintain that ſacred dignity with which he was inveſted. And he concluded with ſaying, that his hopes of deliverance from the dangers which threatened him and the church, were founded principally on the power and zeal of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

AVANSON replied to this diſcourſe, by aſſuring him that the king and kingdom of France would be ready to devote themſelves to the defence of his ſacred perſon, and the Apoſtolic See; and Paul diſmiſſed the aſſembly, after obſerving that he hoped ere long to ſee *one* of the king's ſons in poſſeſſion of Naples, and another, of the Dutchy of Milan.

CARAFFA the cardinal, impatient of delay, immediately ſet on foot a treaty between his uncle and Avanſon; and having, without much difficulty, brought it to a concluſion, he tranſmitted it to the court of France [e].

THE moſt important articles were theſe, That the king of France ſhould take upon himſelf the protection of the pope, and all the family of Caraffa: that the Pope ſhould furniſh an army of 10,000 men; and the king the ſame, or a greater number, if neceſſary, to co-operate with the eccleſiaſtical forces, in reſtoring liberty to Tuſcany, and in expelling the Imperialiſts and Spa-

[e] From this treaty it is evident, that however ſolicitous Paul was to advance the ambitious and intereſted views of his nephews, he was not entirely under their direction, nor altogether regardleſs of the intereſt of the Holy See. Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. xv.

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niards from the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. And that, in caſe their arms ſhould be attended with ſucceſs, the pope ſhould immediately grant the inveſtiture of theſe kingdoms to a younger ſon of the French monarch; reſerving for the Eccleſiaſtical State, the city of Benevento, with its territory, and an annual tribute of 20,000 crowns; beſides an independent eſtabliſhment, in the kingdom of Naples, of 25,000 crowns, for the Count Montorio; and another of 15,000 for Antonio de Caraffa [f].

THIS treaty met with ſuch a reception at the court of France, as Avanſon had given reaſon to expect. Henry was allured by the proſpect which it opened to him of acquiring thoſe Italian dominions, for which his predeceſſors had ſo often contended; and was of himſelf ſtrongly inclined to comply with the pope's propoſals. The conſtable Montmorency, ever bold, and often raſh in action, but in counſel provident, circumſpect, and cautious, employed ſeveral cogent arguments to diſſuade him; and was warmly ſeconded by the cardinal of Tournon.

THEY obſerved, that, as the emperor was about to reſign his dominions, it was highly probable, that either a peace, or a truce with Spain, might ſoon be eſtabliſhed; they repreſented how pernicious all thoſe enterpriſes in Italy had been, which Henry's anceſtors had undertaken, in circumſtances much more favourable than at the preſent period, when the nation was exhauſted by a long ſucceſſion of expenſive wars. And they endeavoured to convince him of the imprudence of unneceſſarily prolonging war with a prince poſſeſſed of ſo many reſources as the emperor, depending on the feeble aid of a pope, at the age of eighty; after whoſe death thoſe very forces on which he now relied, would probably be ranged on the ſide of the enemy.

[f] Summonte, lib. x. p. 278.

HENRY,

HENRY, who had been long accuſtomed to pay the higheſt deference to the conſtable's opinion, would have yielded to theſe arguments, had they not been warmly oppoſed by the duke of Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal of Lorrain; who flattered the king's ambition, and thereby obtained an eaſy victory on this occaſion over their rival. Whether there was ground for the ſuſpicions which were entertained, that Guiſe had formed a deſign on the kingdom of Naples, and the cardinal on the papal throne, it is impoſſible to decide; but, from the intereſted and ambitious characters of theſe men, there is reaſon to believe, that neither a regard to the welfare of France, nor the glory of the king, determined them to offer the counſel which they gave. They knew that the management of the war, and the conduct of all the negociations relative to it, would be put into their hands; and they hoped, if the event were proſperous, to enjoy in Italy, a more independent authority than they could expect to exerciſe in France, where they muſt ſubmit to perpetual controul from the preſence of the king, or from their rivals in the court.

"So fair an opportunity, ſaid the Cardinal, of recovering thoſe dominions in Italy, which the crown of Spain has uſurped, ought not to be neglected. It was from the ſovereign pontiff, that the French monarchs had originally received their title to the Neapolitan kingdom; and it would not be difficult for the king to aſſert his claim, with the aſſiſtance of the preſent pope, whoſe family would, by their credit and influence, engage the friends of France to ſtand forth in defence of a cauſe which their anceſtors had ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported. And with regard to what had been ſaid of peace with the emperor, as the proſpect of it was extremely precarious, ſo it was not to be ſuppoſed, that any benefit that would accrue from it, could be put in the balance with that acceſſion of glory, which

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which the king, and the French nation, would derive from the propoſed alliance."

THIS ſpecious, but flimſy declamation, produced the deſired effect on the improvident temper of the king. The cardinal of Lorrain, agreeably to his expectations, was immediately ordered to repair to Rome; and the Cardinal of Tournon, though extremely averſe to the meaſure adopted, was required to accompany him. Not long afterwards the treaty was concluded in form, and both parties began ſecretly to prepare for putting it in execution.

Truce of Vaucelles, Dec. 15, 1555.

BUT Henry ſoon forgot the obligations which he had brought himſelf under in this treaty; and, in leſs than two months after it was ſigned, agreed to the truce of Vaucelles. The cardinal of Lorrain was at that time in Italy; and the conſtable, taking advantage of his abſence, repreſented to the king in ſo ſtrong a light, the benefit which would ariſe from the truce, as overcame the reſolution of that unſteady prince, and perſuaded him to abandon thoſe alluring proſpects with which he had been dazzled and deceived. The Cardinal, after his laſt audience of the pope, was about to ſet out from Rome, in order to ſolicit the duke of Ferrara and the republic of Venice to accede to the alliance; when intelligence was brought him from the court of France, that, in a conference held at Vaucelles for an exchange of priſoners, a truce, with the condition of leaving both parties in poſſeſſion of their conqueſts, had been propoſed by the Impreialiſts. But he thought it ſo exceedingly improbable that either the emperor, or Philip, would conſent to this condition, that he ſtill perſiſted in his journey, and left his information with the cardinal of Tournon, to be communicated to the pope. It made no greater impreſſion on Paul, than on the cardinal of Lorrain. He endeavoured to make

Tournon

Tournon believe, that ſuch a truce would give him pleaſure; but it was an event, he ſaid, to be deſired, rather than to be hoped for, or expected.

Conſternation of Paul.

NOT many days after, he received certain intelligence from his nuncio at the court of France, that this event, which he thought ſo exceedingly improbable, had taken place; that the truce was actually ſigned, and that Henry, as well as the emperor and his ſon, had ſworn to obſerve it; the firſt at Blois, in the preſence of the Count de Lalain, and the two laſt before the Admiral de Coligni at Bruſſels. The news of this tranſaction excited in Paul and his nephews the moſt alarming apprehenſions. They were conſcious of having given the emperor and Philip the juſteſt ground of offence. They could not ſuppoſe that their conduct had been entirely ſecret, and they were now expoſed to the reſentment of enemies, by whom they muſt be quickly overwhelmed [g].

His diſſimulation.

IN order to elude that vengeance which they juſtly merited, Paul affected to rejoice, as became the father of the Chriſtian church, at ſeeing an end put to the calamities of war. Under this maſk he concealed his intention for ſome time, and that he might conceal it ſtill longer, and more effectually, he ſent two nuncios, a cardinal of the name of Rebiba, to the emperor and Philip; and his nephew cardinal Caraffa, to the king of France. He gave the ſame public inſtructions to both, and ordered them to make an offer to theſe princes of his mediation for eſtabliſhing a ſolid peace on the foundation of the truce; and to treat with them of the meaſures proper to be taken for aſſembling a general council. But the real deſign of Caraffa's embaſſy was, to perſuade Henry to fulfil the conditions of that alliance with the pope, into which he had entered ſome months before [h].

[g] Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. xvi. [h] Ibid.

REBIBA

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REBIBA was purpoſely detained in Rome for ſeveral weeks; but Caraffa, having carried along with him mareſchal Strozzi, a kinſman of the queen of France, proceeded in his journey to Paris with the utmoſt expedition. He poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the art and eloquence neceſſary for executing the difficult negociation which he had undertaken. And it was not without good reaſon that the pontiff, when he reflected on his nephew's talents, ſtill flattered himſelf with hopes of ſucceſs.

His nephew perſuades Henry to violate the truce.

UPON his arrival at Fountainbleau, Caraffa found the courtiers divided, as formerly, with regard to the ſubject of his embaſſy. When Henry firſt entered into alliance with the pope, the conſtable was ſuſpected of having too faintly oppoſed it; not from any doubt which he entertained of its inexpediency, but, either from the faithleſs complaiſance of a courtier to the inclinations of the king; or from a deſire to have his rivals of the family of Guiſe removed to a diſtance from the court. But whatever ground there was for this ſuſpicion, it is certain that Montmorency had been the chief promoter of the truce of Vaucelles; and that he now ſhewed himſelf extremely averſe to that ſhameful violation of it, which Caraffa had come to ſolicit.

THE duke of Guiſe, on the other hand, and his brother the cardinal, were ſtill as much bent on the Italian war as ever; and made no more ſcruple to exhort their maſter to undertake it, after he had ſworn to obſerve the truce with the emperor, than they had done formerly, when he was at liberty, conſiſtently with his honour, either to embrace or reject it.

BETWEEN the oppoſite counſels which were given him, the unſtable mind of Henry remained for ſeveral days in ſuſpenſe. Elated with the ſucceſs which had hitherto attended his arms, and inflamed with the ambition of acquiring the Neapolitan kingdom, he was inclined to a renewal of the war, and withheld his

his conſent from it, only out of reſpect for his oath, and his deference to the opinion of the conſtable. At length Caraffa having gained over the queen, through the influence of Strozzi; and the Guiſes having employed the ſtill more powerful interceſſion of the dutcheſs of Valentinois[1], Henry began to yield to the importunity of ſuch powerful ſolicitors, and admitted Caraffa to a private audience, which he had requeſted, in the hopes of completing that victory over the conſtable's remonſtrances, and the king's remaining ſcruples, which his aſſociates had begun. On this occaſion, having, with the uſual ceremony, preſented to the King, a conſecrated ſword, he remonſtrated to him, at great length, on the breach of his engagements with the pontiff; and when he found that Henry was not offended with this freedom, he next addreſſed himſelf to his ambition, and repreſented, that a more favourable juncture than the preſent could not be deſired for attempting to expel the Spaniards from Italy. That the reins of government were now abandoned by the emperor, and committed to his ſon; who, beſides his inexperience, was extremely unacceptable to the Italian ſtates and princes, and was not yet firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne. That his exchequer was drained by thoſe expenſive wars in which the emperor had been almoſt continually engaged; and his armies were neither ſo numerous nor ſo flouriſhing as at any former period ſince the commencement of his father's reign. While, on the other hand, the French army would have eaſy acceſs to Naples, through the territories of the pope, and would thence likewiſe be furniſhed, both with freſh troops, and with abundant ſupplies of ammunition and proviſions.

HENRY found it difficult any longer to withhold his conſent. But there were two points on which he required ſtill farther ſatis-

[1] The famous Diana of Poitiers, Henry's miſtreſs.

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faction, than either Caraffa's arguments or promiſes had given him. He could not entirely diveſt himſelf of the ſcruples which aroſe from his oath; and nothing offered by Caraffa had taken off the force of the conſtable's objection againſt entering into engagements with a pope in the extremity of old age, who, it was likely, would die before the end of the propoſed alliance could be accompliſhed. Caraffa had foreſeen both theſe difficulties, and was prepared to remove them. He produced from Paul a power to abſolve Henry from the obligation of his oath; he engaged that ſuch a number of cardinals, partiſans of France, and enemies to Spain, ſhould be nominated at the next promotion, as would ſecure to Henry the abſolute diſpoſal of the papacy, in the event of the pontiff's death; and, for his further ſecurity, he promiſed, in all events, that Bologna, Ancona, Paliano, Civita-Vecchia, and even the caſtle of St. Angelo, ſhould be put into his poſſeſſion.

THE war was now reſolved upon without further heſitation. Caraffa immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Rebiba, who, according to his inſtructions, was advancing by ſlow journies towards Bruſſels, to inform him of what had paſſed, and to deſire him to return to Rome. Henry received abſolution in form from the obligation of that ſacred law of Nature which enjoins the obſervance of an oath; and, at the ſame time, he received a diſpenſation from a law of nations, conſidered as no leſs ſacred, by which it was held to be unchriſtian and barbarous to begin hoſtilities without a previous declaration of war [k].

As he flattered himſelf that his tranſaction with Caraffa might be for ſome time concealed, he was determined, if poſſible, to attack the emperor and Philip, while, truſting to the truce, they were off their guard. And thus did this monarch, who was

[k] Thuanus, lib. xvii. c. vii. Father Paul, lib. v. Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. x. p. 71.

not

not leſs virtuous than moſt of his cotemporary princes, deliberately reſolve to add treachery to the perjury and falſehood into which he had been betrayed; under a perſuaſion that his conduct was not only juſtifiable, but even honourable, and meritorious in the ſight of God and man. Such is the faſcinating power of falſe religion; and ſo pernicious to ſociety that impious pretenſion to the power of annulling the ſacred obligations of morality, which was claimed by the Roman pontiffs, and which, through the ignorance of their votaries, they were permitted for many ages to enjoy.

CARAFFA had endeavoured to conceal his negociation at the court of France, under the pretext of treating with the king about the eſtabliſhment of peace, and the calling of a general council. But the emperor and Philip were too well acquainted with his character, to be ſo eaſily deceived. They had penetrated into the real intention of the embaſſy, and had for ſome time kept a watchful eye over all the motions both of Henry and the pope.

THE conduct of Paul was extremely ill-calculated to elude the penetration of the Spaniſh miniſters. Beſides excommunicating the family of Colonna, and depriving them of their territories, he had treated with much ſeverity and injuſtice all thoſe whom he ſuſpected of being attached to the Spaniſh intereſt; and had received, in the moſt gracious manner, ſome Neapolitan exiles, who had fled to Rome. Some of his letters having been intercepted, he had put to the torture Antonio de Taſſis poſt-maſter at Rome, though a Spaniſh ſubject; and, in violation of a privilege long enjoyed by the kings of Spain, had given his office to another. He had put under arreſt De la Vega, Philip's ambaſſador at Rome; and, with no ſmall degree of vanity, ſet on foot a trial in the conſiſtory, againſt Philip himſelf, on pretence that, as his

The violence of Paul.

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liege-lord, he had a right to deprive him of the kingdom of Naples, on account of his having failed in the payment of 700 ducats, which he alleged was an annual tribute due from the poſſeſſor of that kingdom to the Holy See[1].

WHILE Paul gave theſe impotent proofs of his reſentment, his nephews were making diligent preparation for the approaching war. They were employed aſſiduouſly in repairing the fortifications of Rome, Paliano, and other places. And, having levied a conſiderable number of troops, they engaged Camillo Orſini, one of the ableſt generals of the age, to command them.

The Duke of Alva.

THE adminiſtration of Philip's affairs in Italy was at this time in the hands of Ferdinand de Toledo duke of Alva; a ſingular and diſtinguiſhed perſonage in Philip's reign, whom there will be frequent occaſion to mention in the ſequel. He was arrogant, vain, and proud; violent, inflexible, and relentleſs; but patient, prudent and ſagacious; inured from his youth to arms, and poſſeſſed of conſummate ſkill in the art of war. He had been intruſted with the ſupreme command of the emperor's forces in Germany; and, though unſucceſsful in the ſiege of Metz, had diſcovered uncommon vigour and abilities. He did not, however, enjoy the ſame degree of credit with the father, which he afterwards attained under the ſon; whom he nearly reſembled in his character, and whoſe favour he had courted with great aſſiduity and ſucceſs. Through the influence of Ruy Gomez de Silva, Philip's principal favourite, who beheld with a jealous eye Alva's growing favour with the king, and was deſirous, on that account, to have him removed to a diſtance from the helm of government, he had, about a year before, been appointed viceroy

[1] Gianone, liv. xxxiii. c. i. The duke of Alva's letter in Summonte, tom. iv. p. 270. Clement VII. had renounced this claim.

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of Naples, as well as governor of Milan, and commander in chief of all the Spaniſh forces in Italy.

PHILIP had been fully informed by Alva, of the pope's conduct with regard to him; and even before he knew of his alliance with Henry, he could not entertain any doubt of his intentions. Had he permitted Alva to act with vigour, and to improve the advantage over Paul, which his defenceleſs ſituation afforded him, he might have got poſſeſſion of all his fortified places, have deterred Henry from entering into any new connexion with him, and have thereby prevented the renewal of the war. But being convinced that Henry would never violate the truce of Vaucelles, by which he was ſo great a gainer; and knowing that the pontiff could do nothing without the aſſiſtance of the French, he gave orders to Alva, to uſe every art of perſuaſion, before he ſhould have recourſe to arms. Alva, though naturally averſe to all mild expedients, complied with his inſtructions; and, by letters and meſſengers, complained, remonſtrated, and even ſoothed and flattered both Paul and his nephews. All his endeavours, however, were ineffectual. They ſtill continued their preparations; and gave him ſometimes haughty, and always unſatisfactory replies. At length the Duke of Alva ſent Pirro de Loffredo, with one letter to the college of cardinals, and another to Paul [m]; in which, after enumerating the various injuries which his maſter had received, and renewing his former offers of peace and friendſhip, he concluded with proteſting, that if his offers were again rejected, the Pope ſhould be chargeable with all the calamities that might follow. Before the arrival of Loffredo, Paul had received intelligence from France of the ſucceſs of the cardinal's negociation; and the Duke of Alva's letter ſerved only to precipitate him into new extravagances. He threw Loffredo into

[m] The original letters are preſerved by Summonte, lib. x. and dated Auguſt 21, 1556.

priſon,

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priſon, and would even have put him to death, had not the college of cardinals interpoſed [n]. He then gave orders to Aldobrandin, the conſiſtorial advocate, to finiſh the proceſs which he had begun againſt Philip, on account of his failure in the paying tribute for Naples; and, after hearing the cauſe pleaded, he paſſed ſentence, depriving him of the ſovereignty of that kingdom [o].

THIS violent conduct of Paul gave great offence throughout Europe; and, in Italy, ſerved rather to obſtruct, than to promote his deſigns. The Venetians refuſed to accede to his alliance; and the Neapolitans, perceiving what the ambition of his nephews aimed at, with reſpect to them, entered warmly into all the prudent meaſures which the Duke of Alva planned for their defence.

Philip's ſcruples.

BUT Paul's extravagant behaviour did not excite in Philip that reſentment and indignation which might have been expected from a young, ambitious, powerful monarch, of a temper of mind impatient of injuries and affronts. Notwithſtanding the contumelious treatment which he had received, he ſtill continued irreſolute, and diſcovered an amazing reluctance againſt proceeding to extremities.

SOME hiſtorians affirm, that he had early imbibed, from the Spaniſh Eccleſiaſtics, who had the care of his education, the higheſt veneration for the Holy See; and entertained ſome ſcruples as to the lawfulneſs of employing force againſt the ſovereign pontiff. Others aſſert, that theſe ſcruples were mere grimace and affectation. He had already formed the plan of ſubjecting Europe to his dominion; and zeal for the Catholic faith was both the pretext and the inſtrument which he had reſolved to employ for accompliſhing his deſign.

[n] Summonte, lib. x. p. 277. Gianone, lib. xxxiii. c. i.

[o] Gianone adds, that he was diſſuaded from publiſhing it by Camerario of Benevento, the great Civilian, a Neapolitan exile.

NEITHER of theſe accounts ought to be entirely rejected; and neither of them ought to be admitted as ſatisfactory. On the one hand, it is impoſſible to doubt that ambition, and not religion, was the ruling principle of Philip's conduct; and on the other, when we reflect on the pains which were taken, from his earlieſt infancy, to inſpire him with an attachment to the popiſh faith, and conſider how ſerious and zealous he ever appeared in the profeſſion and ſupport of it; it will be impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that, in religious matters, he was entirely hypocritical. It is improbable that any perſon could act ſo uniform a part as Philip did, without feeling, in a conſiderable degree, the power of that motive which he held forth to the world as the principle of his conduct. Nor does it afford the ſmalleſt preſumption againſt this ſuppoſition, that his conduct was, on many occaſions, inconſiſtent with religious ſincerity. His religion was not ſurely pure and genuine. It was neither the religion of nature, nor that of Chriſt, but was the barbarous ſuperſtition of the church of Rome, which, in the age of Philip, inſtead of deterring men from vice, tended to encourage them in the practice of it, by inculcating upon them the higheſt reverence for an order of prieſts, ſuppoſed to be inveſted with the power of abſolving from the guilt and puniſhment of the moſt enormous crimes. To Philip's ſuperſtitious veneration for the Holy See, therefore, may be aſcribed, in part, both his moderation in the preſent juncture, and a reſolution which he formed, to conſult the moſt diſtinguiſhed divines, with regard to the lawfulneſs of waging war againſt an enemy whoſe perſon he deemed ſo ſacred and inviolable.

THOSE men knew well what counſel was ſuited to his preſent circumſtances; and they declared, that, although it behoved him to begin with ſupplicating his Holineſs, as the univerſal father of the church, yet, if his entreaties were rejected, the law

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of nature would permit him to defend his territories, and to vindicate his right by force of arms [p].

Alva's military operations.

BY this anſwer, Philip's religious ſcruples were removed. Still, however, he lamented the neceſſity he lay under, of beginning his reign with hoſtilities, againſt a power, with which, more than with any other, he was deſirous of cultivating peace and friendſhip. But at laſt, after having loſt a great deal of time in negociating, he ſent orders to the duke of Alva to take the field.

1556. THAT general, having ſome time before gone from the Dutchy of Milan to the kingdom of Naples, and fixed his head-quarters near the confines of the Eccleſiaſtical State, began his march in the beginning of September one thouſand five hundred and fifty-ſix, with a well diſciplined army; which, though ſmall in number, was ſuperior to that which the pontiff had provided to oppoſe it. In a few weeks Alva reduced ſeveral towns in the Campagna di Roma; and took poſſeſſion of them in the name of the ſacred college, and of the future pope. The people of Rome were thrown into conſternation by his approach; and many families left the city, in order to avoid the calamities of a ſiege. Paul ſtill retained all his wonted haughtineſs, and poured out threats and anathemas againſt the enemy.

He grants a truce.

BUT the duke of Alva ſtill continued to advance till his troops could make incurſions almoſt to the gates of Rome. In this ſituation cardinal Caraffa found his uncle's affairs upon his return from France. The army which he had obtained from Henry had already reached Piedmont; but, being detained there by the rigour of the winter, could not arrive in time to ſave Rome from falling into the hands of the Spaniards. In order to prevent this, Caraffa prevailed on Paul, who, from pride, and ignorance

[p] Ferreras, vol. ix. p. 373.

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of his danger, was extremely reluctant, to apply for a ceſſation of arms; and Alva, at the requeſt of his uncle, the cardinal of St. James, conſented to a conference with Caraffa, in the Iſle of Fiumicino. He could not be ignorant, that this crafty Italian's intention was only to amuſe him till the French army ſhould approach. But an interval of repoſe was no leſs expedient for himſelf, than for the enemy. His army was greatly diminiſhed by putting garriſons into the conquered towns. His ſhips with proviſions had been long detained by contrary winds; and his preſence was neceſſary in Naples, to haſten his levies, and put the kingdom into a poſture of defence before the arrival of the duke of Guiſe. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, Alva readily conſented to a truce of forty days; and, immediately after concluding it, he ſet out for Naples, where he exerted himſelf, with great aſſiduity, in completing his preparations for the next campaign. 1556.

THE duke of Guiſe had now paſſed the Alps, with twelve thouſand foot, and near two thouſand horſe, and had advanced as far as Rheggio. There he was met by the duke of Ferrara, who, having acceded to the alliance between the pope and Henry, had brought along with him near ſeven thouſand men. Guiſe deliberated for ſome time whether he ſhould begin his operations with laying ſiege to Cremona, Milan, and other towns in the north of Italy; or, leaving theſe behind him in the hands of the enemy, ſhould march directly towards Naples. He had been earneſtly exhorted by mareſchal de Briſſac, whom he ſaw in Piedmont, to embrace the former of theſe meaſures, as being the ſafeſt and moſt practicable; and in this opinion the Duke of Ferrara concurred; but Guiſe had received poſitive orders from the king, to be directed in this matter by the pope, who inſiſted that he ſhould advance without delay towards Naples. In com- 1557.

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pliance, therefore, with his inſtructions, he purſued his march ſouthward till he reached the frontiers of that part of the kingdom which is called the Abruzzo. At his arrival in Rome, he was received in triumph, as if he had been already crowned with victory. But he ſoon found that he had been cruelly deceived by Caraffa, with regard to the aſſiſtance which that prelate had ſo confidently promiſed him in the name of the pontiff; who had not been able either to raiſe the troops which he had ſtipulated, or to furniſh his magazines with an adequate quantity of military ſtores. Guiſe was extremely mortified at his preſent diſagreeable ſituation, and ſaw that he was likely to meet with nothing but diſgrace and ſhame, where he had flattered himſelf with the hopes of adding to his former glory. He laid ſiege, however, to Civitella, and carried on his operations againſt it, for more than three weeks, with his wonted ſpirit and intrepidity. After having made a breach in the wall, he attempted to take the place by ſtorm. But his troops were repulſed with great loſs by the garriſon, who were bravely ſeconded by the inhabitants. Even the women diſcovered, on this occaſion, the moſt undaunted reſolution, and ſeemed determined to lay down their lives, rather than ſubmit to the dominion of the French; whoſe inſolent uſe of victory, in former Italian expeditions, was not yet, after many years, obliterated from their minds.

He lays ſiege to Civitella.

THE duke of Alva had reſolved, with his uſual caution, to act on the defenſive; and to fortify his camp on the ſouth ſide of the river Piſcarra, which lay between him and the enemy. But when he found that their enterpriſe againſt Civitella detained them ſo long, he concluded that the accounts which he had received of their ſtrength muſt have been exaggerated; and therefore he croſſed the river, and advanced towards them.

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But is obliged to raiſe it.

GUISE was extremely unwilling to quit the ſiege; but, having received certain intelligence that the Spaniſh army was ſuperior to his own, he liſtened to the advice of mareſchal Strozzi, and retired into the eccleſiaſtical territories. Alva followed him: but neither he nor Guiſe ſeem to have wiſhed for a general engagement. The former could not have ventured on it with any probability of ſucceſs; and the latter thought it abſurd to riſk a kingdom without neceſſity on the chance of a battle[q].

WHILST theſe things paſſed in the Abruzzo, Mark Antony Colonna made rapid progreſs in the neighbourhood of Rome, where he reduced ſeveral forts and towns, and obtained a victory over the pope's forces, commanded by Julio Orſini and the marquis of Montebello.

BY theſe diſaſters, Paul was overwhelmed with terror. And when he was lamenting in the conſiſtory, the calamities in which his dominions were involved, he expreſſed his dread, that ere long the Vatican itſelf would be in the hands of the enemy. He added, that he longed now to be with Chriſt; and, as if he had engaged in the preſent war from zeal for the faith, and not from ambition and reſentment, he concluded with ſaying, that he would wait for his crown of martyrdom without diſmay.

HE was willing, however, to preſerve his earthly crown as long as poſſible; and had ſent to the duke of Guiſe, intreating him to haſten towards Rome for his defence. This general was now on his march thither; full of vexation and chagrin on account of the inglorious part which he had acted. He called upon cardinal Caraffa to fulfil his promiſes; and he employed all his intereſt to procure ſupplies from the court of France. But the pope's reſources were already exhauſted; and the French monarch had more than ſuffi-

[q] Haræus ſays, that Guiſe laboured to force Alva to engage; but this does not appear from the detail in Thuanus.

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cient employment at home for all the troops which he had reſerved, after providing for his Italian expedition.

1557. The war in France.

PHILIP had, for the reaſons above mentioned, entered into the war with reluctance; but having, in the origin of it, received the higheſt provocation from Henry, as well as from the pope, and knowing that, in the beginning of his reign, the eyes of all Europe would be fixed upon his conduct, he had reſolved to exert his utmoſt vigor, and to attack Henry, in that quarter, where he could moſt ſucceſsfully annoy him.

WITH extraordinary induſtry and diſpatch, he aſſembled a numerous army in the neighbourhood of Charlemont, under the command of Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy. And Emanuel cheerfully undertook the charge committed to him, as it gave him at once an opportunity of diſplaying his great abilities, and of taking vengeance on the French king, by whom he had been expelled from his dominions. Of the army which was collected, only a ſmall part conſiſted of Spaniards; the greateſt part were either Dutch, and Flemings, or Germans. In levying them, Philip was much indebted to the zeal and alacrity with which his ſubjects in the Netherlands eſpouſed his cauſe. For the States of theſe provinces, notwithſtanding the prejudice to their commerce, which they foreſaw muſt ariſe from the war, granted, with unuſual liberality, all the ſupplies which he demanded. But while in this they gave proof of their loyalty, they diſcovered, by another part of their conduct, their jealouſy and diſcontent. They reſerved in their own hands the adminiſtration of the money which they voted him; and appointed commiſſioners to apply it to the payment of the troops. This action, which proceeded from their jealouſy of the Spaniards, made a deep impreſſion on the dark reſentful mind of Philip; it contributed to alienate his affections from his Flemiſh ſubjects; and gave him an inveterate

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prejudice againſt that free conſtitution of their government, by which they were thus enabled to limit his authority. But he was ſenſible how improper it would have been, in the preſent conjuncture, to diſcover his reſentment, or to diſpute their privileges. He agreed to accept of their ſupplies, with the condition annexed to the grant of them; and proceeded to complete his preparations.

Philip engages England in the war.

NOT ſatisfied with the army which he had drawn together from Germany and the Netherlands, augmented by a reinforcement ſent from Spain, he reſolved, if poſſible, to perſuade the Engliſh to enter into the war. With this view he went over to England. He found the privy-counſellors, the queen herſelf, and the whole body of the people, averſe to his deſign. It has almoſt never happened, either before or ſince that period, that war with the French was not agreeable to the Engliſh. During many centuries they had been accuſtomed to conſider their French neighbours as enemies and rivals, with whom they often ſhewed an eagerneſs to contend, when it was greatly their intereſt to remain at peace. But their enmity towards the French yielded at this time to their jealouſy of the Spaniards; and they entertained the moſt irreconcilable averſion to the propoſed alliance. Mary, as juſt now hinted, was not of herſelf inclined to the war, but notwithſtanding this, and the cold indifference with which Philip had ever treated her, ſhe was unable to reſiſt his ſolicitation [r].

HER kinſman cardinal Pole, and her other counſellors, repreſented, that it was a chief article of her marriage-treaty, that the alliance with France ſhould be preſerved inviolate; that the violation of it would excite an univerſal alarm with regard to the obſervance of the other articles; and that the preſent ſtate of her finances

[r] Van Meteren. Thuanus, lib. xix. c. vii. Camden's Apparatus.

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would render it impoſſible for her, if ſhe ſhould enter into the war, to acquit herſelf with honour. But Philip having ſaid, that if he were not gratified in his requeſt, he would leave England, and never return to it; Mary was deaf to every argument that could be employed to diſſuade her from her purpoſe; and, without further heſitation, ordered war to be declared in the city of Rheims, with the uſual ceremony; on pretences which were either entirely falſe, or extremely frivolous. As ſhe knew it would be in vain to apply to her parliament for aſſiſtance in carrying on a war ſo diſagreeable to the nation, ſhe had recourſe to the oppreſſive expedient of extorting loans from individuals and corporations. By this, and other means of the ſame nature, ſhe equipped a conſiderable fleet, and raiſed an army of eight thouſand men; of which ſhe gave the command to the earl of Pembroke.

When this reinforcement had joined the duke of Savoy, his cavalry amounted to twelve thouſand, and his infantry to between forty and fifty thouſand; an army much ſuperior to any which Henry could muſter to oppoſe it. This inconſiderate monarch had not expected that Philip would have been able to make ſo great an effort, and ſaw now the folly of his late engagements with the pope. He was not wanting, however, either in prudence or activity, in repairing his fault, and providing for the ſecurity of his kingdom. He committed the chief command of the forces to the Conſtable, whom, notwithſtanding his averſeneſs to the war, he choſe to employ, as the ableſt of all his generals, to conduct it; and a great number of the principal nobility and gentry flocked to the camp, eager to diſplay that zeal and bravery, which the French nation hath often exhibited in defence of their king and country.

THE conſtable could not for ſome time conjecture on which ſide the duke of Savoy intended to turn his arms. His firſt movements were calculated to beget a perſuaſion, that he deſigned to enter France by the way of Champaign; but no ſooner had he drawn the French army to that quarter, than, changing his route, he marched into Picardy, and laid ſiege to St. Quintin.

1557. The ſiege and battle of St. Quintin.

THIS town muſt quickly have ſurrendered to ſo great a force, had it not been defended by the celebrated Jaſper de Coligni, admiral of France, who made, on this occaſion, a conſpicuous diſplay of thoſe extraordinary talents which rendered him afterwards one of the moſt illuſtrious perſonages of the age. Being governor of the province in which the place lay, he thought it his duty to exert himſelf to the utmoſt for its preſervation; and he forced his way into it, through the ſurrounding army, with a body of troops, which he animated to expoſe themſelves to every hazard of war in its defence. Immediately after his arrival, he expelled the Spaniards from the ſuburbs, and ſet fire to the houſes. But he ſoon perceived, that, by reaſon of the neglected ſtate of the fortifications, the garriſon was ſtill too weak; and that, without a reinforcement, it would be impoſſible to hold out long againſt ſo numerous an enemy. Of this he gave immediate intelligence to the Conſtable his uncle, and at the ſame time informed him where it would be eaſieſt to introduce the ſuccour which he requeſted. The Conſtable, anxious for his nephew's ſafety, and ſenſible how neceſſary it was for the preſervation of the kingdom that the duke of Savoy ſhould be detained before St. Quintin, appointed d'Andelot the admiral's brother, to the command of a ſelect body of two thouſand foot, deſtined for the relief of the beſieged. A perſon of the name of Valpergue, well acquainted with the face of the country, had been ſent by the admiral, to ſerve as a guide to this reinforcement.

Auguſt. Admiral Coligni.

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ment. But whether he miſtook his way, or the duke of Savoy had got intelligence of the deſign, is uncertain. D'Andelot found the enemy prepared to receive him, and was ſo vigorouſly attacked, that he eſcaped with difficulty, after the greateſt part of his troops had been cut to pieces.

By this diſaſter the beſieged were extremely dejected, and the admiral had much occaſion to exert all his addreſs and eloquence, to prevent them from abandoning themſelves to deſpair. From a high tower in the town he could view the country round, and ſaw that the place was completely inveſted on every ſide but one, where there was a marſh or lake, too deep in ſome places to be paſſed on foot, and in others too ſhallow to admit of boats. Through this marſh, however, he hoped that his friends might introduce a reinforcement. Having concerted with the Conſtable the time and manner of putting his deſign in execution, he threw up the earth in a part of the marſh, and reduced the water into a canal large enough to receive ſome ſmall boats which he had prepared. The Conſtable then advanced toward the lake with all his forces, and gave d'Andelot an opportunity of entering the town, with between four and five hundred men [a]. But, in making his approach, the Conſtable had led his army through ſome narrow defiles, which he muſt repaſs before he could put his troops in ſafety. His miſconduct, in thus expoſing his army to ſo great a riſk in ſight of an enemy ſo much ſuperior, was quickly perceived by the duke of Savoy; and a council of war was immediately called to conſider of the meaſures proper to be purſued. Many of the officers thought that the Conſtable ſhould be ſuffered to retire; but count Egmont, general of the horſe, whom Philip afterwards uſed ſo ungrate-

[a] Laboureur additions, &c. p. 375.

fully,

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fully, maintained with warmth[t] that it was practicable to attack him in his retreat with the higheſt probability of ſucceſs. The duke of Savoy approved of the plan of attack which the count propoſed, and committed the execution of it to himſelf. No time was loſt. Egmont advanced inſtantly at the head of the cavalry, while the duke haſtened forward with the infantry to ſupport him; and finding the enemy unprepared for their defence, he ſoon threw them into diſorder. The Conſtable exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly to retrieve his error; but count Egmont, ſeconded by the infantry, with the general at their head, advanced with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Conſtable found it impoſſible to recover his troops from the confuſion into which they had been thrown. Perceiving that the fortune of the battle was irretrievable, and ſtung with the conſciouſneſs of the imprudence of which he had been guilty, he ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy, and ſeemed determined not to ſurvive the reproach in which his raſhneſs had involved him. He was dangerouſly wounded, and would have fallen in the field, as he deſired; but, being perſonally known to ſome Flemiſh officers, he was by them reſcued from the ſoldiers and taken priſoner. His army was entirely broken. Three thouſand men were killed on the ſpot, and four thouſand taken priſoners; among whom, beſides the Conſtable and his two ſons, there were many perſons of diſtinction, and ſeveral of the firſt nobility of France. On the ſide of the victors only eighty men were killed; a certain proof that the attack had been conducted with no leſs prudence than intrepidity.

The French defeated.

PHILIP, although a ſlave to the luſt of power, yet unambitious of military glory, remained at Cambray till intelligence was brought

[t] Auctore, conſuaſore, & prope dicam, perfectore Egmondenſi. L. Guicciardini, p. 150. lib. iii.

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him of the victory. He then entered the camp with great pomp, and when the duke of Savoy and count Egmont approached him, he received them in the moſt gracious manner, and expreſſed his gratitude for the important ſervice they had performed, with a degree of ſenſibility and joy which he was ſeldom accuſtomed to diſcover [a]. His conduct on this occaſion was in another reſpect more agreeable to his character. In memory of the battle, he vowed to conſecrate a palace, a church, and a monaſtery, to St. Laurence, becauſe it was on the anniverſary of that ſaint that he had obtained the victory. He afterwards religiouſly fulfilled his vow by building the Eſcurial; for which he reſerved immenſe ſums, notwithſtanding the difficulties in which, through his expenſive wars, he was almoſt continually involved.

Surrender of St. Quintin.

THE battle of St. Quintin might have been attended with the moſt important conſequences, if Philip had complied with the advice of ſome of his general officers, who exhorted him to lead his army without delay into the heart of France. But this meaſure was too bold to be reliſhed by a prince like Philip, whoſe caution often bordered on timidity. He gave orders to proceed in the ſiege of St. Quintin; ſaying, that it would be dangerous to leave ſo ſtrong a place behind him in the hands of the enemy, and that every army that ventured to penetrate into a powerful kingdom, like that of France, ought firſt to ſecure their retreat. His officers were the more eaſily reconciled to theſe orders, as they believed it impoſſible for the beſieged to hold out above a few days longer. But they were diſappointed in their expectations by the ſkill and intrepidity of the admiral; who, in order to ſave his country and retard the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms, had reſolved to bury himſelf in the ruins of the place, rather than agree to a ſurrender. He inſpired the garriſon with the ſame generous reſo-

[a] Cabrera, lib. iv. c. 7.

lution;

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lution; and though the fortifications were weak and ruinous, he withſtood all the vigorous and ſkilful efforts of the duke of Savoy, till the ſeventeenth day after the renewal of the ſiege, when the town was aſſaulted in eleven different places at one time, and both the admiral and his brother, after a brave and obſtinate defence, were taken priſoners on the breach. During the aſſault, Philip ſhewed himſelf to his troops in complete armour; and this was the only time in his life in which he was ever ſeen in a military dreſs. He allowed his army to plunder the town, as a reward of their labours; but gave ſtrict orders to preſerve the churches and the relics of the tutelary ſaint.

In the mean time Henry's miniſters, who had been overwhelmed with conſternation, employed to the beſt advantage the leiſure which the admiral's heroic bravery afforded them. They levied forces in every quarter of the kingdom, gathered together the remains of the vanquiſhed army, ſent for the troops which ſerved in Piedmont under the mareſchal de Briſſac, and recalled the duke of Guiſe. In a few weeks the whole eaſtern frontier was in a poſture of defence, and an army collected in Picardy under the duke of Nevers, able to make head againſt the enemy. Philip then perceived that he had ſuffered the only opportunity to eſcape which he would probably ever have, of penetrating into France, and ſeizing the capital unprepared. He was now under a neceſſity of being ſatisfied with employing his troops in enterpriſes of leſs ſplendor and importance; and the only fruit of his victory at St. Quintin was, the taking of the inconſiderable towns of Catelet, Ham, and Noyon; after which, he diſmiſſed a great part of his army, ſent home his Engliſh forces, and retired himſelf to Bruſſels[x].

[x] Thuanus ſays, that the Engliſh and Spaniards quarrelled after the battle, and that this was the reaſon why Philip ſo haſtily broke up his camp. Lib. xix. p. 660.

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1557. Peace concluded between Philip and the pope.

THE recalling of the duke of Guiſe from Italy rendered it neceſſary for the pope, though exceedingly reluctant, to apply for peace; to which Philip readily conſented upon much more moderate terms than could have been expected, conſidering that Paul was now entirely at his mercy, and that no enemy remained in Italy able to withſtand his power. The ſame motives, whether religious or political, that made him ſo averſe to entering into this war with the pontiff, determined him to have it brought as ſoon as poſſible to a concluſion. Almoſt the only condition which he required was, that Paul ſhould obſerve a ſtrict neutrality between France and Spain. All the eccleſiaſtical towns which had been taken were reſtored; and orders ſent to the duke of Alva to go to Rome, and ſupplicate the pope's forgiveneſs, both in his own name, and that of his maſter, for their crime of invading the ſacred poſſeſſions of the church. In theſe conditions, and in the manner in which they were fulfilled, Paul appeared as if his arms had been victorious; and Philip, as if he had been humbled and overcome. Such was the reverence which the latter either felt in reality for the Holy See, or thought it neceſſary to affect, in order to promote his ambitious deſigns [y].

The duke of Guiſe returns from Italy.

IN this manner did Philip put a period to the war with the ſovereign pontiff; but that with Henry ſtill continued. This prince, conſcious of his incapacity, and ſenſible that an exertion of the higheſt abilities was neceſſary in the preſent critical ſituation of his affairs, transferred almoſt his whole authority to the duke of Guiſe, and created him viceroy of France, under the name of Lieutenant General of the kingdom. The French nation knew how much the ambition of this nobleman had contributed to involve them in their preſent calamities; nor

[y] Thuanus. Summonte, c. 10.

were

were they ignorant how unſucceſsful his attempts in Italy had been againſt the ſagacity and ſkill of Alva; yet ſo ſplendid were his accompliſhments, and to ſo great a height in the general eſteem had his ſpirited defence of Metz againſt the emperor exalted him, that his arrival diffuſed univerſal joy, and rouſed the nation from that deſpondency into which it had been caſt by the late diſaſter at St. Quintin. He quickly ſhewed that his countrymen were not miſtaken in the opinion which they entertained of his abilities. The ordinary ſeaſon for action was over, and the enemy had gone into winter-quarters, when he took the field, at the head of an army which he had collected with the utmoſt ſecrecy and diſpatch. The eyes of all Europe were directed towards him, and Philip attended to his motions with much anxiety; never doubting that he intended to fall either upon St. Quintin, or ſome of the frontier towns of the Netherlands. It ſoon appeared that he meditated an attack, by which the intereſt of Philip's allies would be more affected than his own, but in the ſucceſs of which France was more deeply intereſted than even in the recovery of St. Quintin. For more than two hundred years the town of Calais had remained in the hands of the Engliſh; and as it ſerved for a key by which they could at all times open an entrance for their armies into France, it had been ever deemed one of their moſt valuable poſſeſſions. The French monarchs were fully ſenſible of the diſhonour, as well as of the danger, which attended the ſuffering a rival nation to poſſeſs a place of ſo much importance in their dominions. But in thoſe days, when the art of attacking towns was little known, Calais was regarded as impregnable. Nor had any of the French kings, even in the height of proſperity, ever thought of laying ſiege to it. They were ignorant of the means of taking it by ſtorm, and they could not reduce it by blockade; while the Engliſh could eaſily

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1558. January. Siege of Calais.

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eaſily furniſh it by ſea with freſh troops, ſtores, and proviſions. But a plan of attack, which had never occurred to any perſon, was diſcovered by the fruitful genius of the admiral de Coligni, and by him had been ſuggeſted to the duke of Guiſe.

In order to carry this plan into execution, and thereby to redeem the nation from what had ever been conſidered as reproachful and ignominious, Guiſe put his troops in motion long before the uſual ſeaſon for action had arrived. He judged wiſely in making choice of the rigour of winter for beginning his enterpriſe; for beſides that the enemy had no army in the field at this time to diſturb his operations, he knew that the Queen of England and her miniſters had, from a principle of ill-judged œconomy, been accuſtomed to diſmiſs a great part of the garriſon in the end of autumn, and to truſt, for the ſecurity of the place, to the marſhy ground on the land ſide, by which, they believed, that, in winter, all acceſs to it would be rendered impracticable.

But the briſkneſs of the duke of Guiſe's approaches ſoon convinced the governor, lord Wentworth, how little reaſon there was for this imprudent confidence. Wentworth repreſented to the Engliſh miniſtry, the neceſſity of ſending him an immediate reinforcement. He acquainted them, that he had not above one-fourth of the number requiſite to defend the works; and that, with the preſent garriſon, it was impoſſible to prevent the place from falling quickly into the hands of the enemy. Had Mary's miniſters been ever ſo deſirous of complying with his requeſt, it would not have availed him. Guiſe was ſenſible that the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe depended on his conducting it with expedition. He puſhed forward all the operations of the ſiege with extraordinary vigour, and although it is acknowledged that the governor and garriſon acquitted themſelves with honour, yet he reduced them to the neceſſity of capitulating on the eighth day

after his arrival[z]. He then laid ſiege to Guiſnes and Ham, which he ſubdued with great facility; and thus, in leſs than four weeks, he expelled the Engliſh from all thoſe poſſeſſions on the continent which they had enjoyed ſince the time of Edward the Third, and in the acquiſition of which that victorious prince had, after the batttle of Crecy, employed a numerous army for near a twelve-month. 1558. January 8th.

THE remaining part of winter was ſpent in preparing for the next campaign: and, on the part of the French, preparations were carried on with the utmoſt diligence, not only in France but in Germany, where forces were levied to the amount of four thouſand horſe and fourteen thouſand foot. Theſe troops the duke of Guiſe received in Lorraine; and then he marched with his whole forces united, and inveſted Thionville, a city of great importance in the province of Luxemburg. The garriſon, which conſiſted of eighteen hundred men, made a vigorous defence; but as the vigilance of Guiſe rendered all attempts to introduce ſupplies impracticable, they were ſoon obliged to capitulate. The reduction of Thionville.

WHILE the duke of Guiſe was thus employed in Luxemburg, the mareſchal de Thermes, an old experienced commander, who had been appointed governor of Calais, having collected an army of ten thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, invaded Flanders, took and deſtroyed Dunkirk, together with ſome other places of ſmaller note, and penetrated as far as Newport, laying waſte the country with fire and ſword. Philip ſent count Egmont, with an army ſuperior in number, to oppoſe him. On the count's approach, De Thermes retired haſtily towards Gravelines, intending to continue his march to Calais, along the ſhore, without riſking a battle. But the impetuoſity and ardor of count Egmont, who The battle of Gravelines.

[z] Thuanus, l. 20. Van Meteren, p. 18. Carte's Hiſt. of England.

advanced

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advanced towards him with great rapidity, put it out of his power to execute this deſign. His men too were loaded with the ſpoil of the ravaged country, which, whilſt it retarded their march, contributed not a little to accelerate the progreſs of the enemy. He had time however to repaſs the river Aa; but finding it impoſſible any longer to avoid an engagement, he drew up his army advantageouſly on a plain, where the enemy could not attack him but in front, nor avail themſelves of the ſuperiority of their number. He placed his carriages with the baggage and plunder on the ſouth, and had the ſea upon the north, and the mouth of the Aa behind him. In this poſture he waited for the enemy; and being fully prepared for their reception, he made conſiderable havoc among them with his artillery as they advanced. This ſerved only to quicken the approach of the Flemings, and to bring on the ſooner a cloſe fight, in which almoſt every part of both armies was engaged, troop with troop, and man with man. The French were rendered deſperate by their ſituation in an enemy's country, where they could not eſcape without conquering; and the Flemings were animated, partly by revenge for the outrages that had been committed by the enemy, and partly by the deſire of recovering the ſpoil which they had carried off. The battle was obſtinate and bloody, and the iſſue remained for ſome time doubtful. It would probably have been ſooner decided, if the Germans in count Egmont's army had ſhewn an equal regard with the Flemings to the exhortations and example of their general, who not only acted the part of a prudent commander, but often mingled with the foremoſt combatants, and gave conſpicuous proofs of the moſt heroic valour. The French however ſtill maintained their ground, and ſeemed reſolved either on death or victory; when, fortunately for count Egmont, ſome Engliſh ſhips of war, which happened to be cruiſing upon the coaſt, perceiving

ceiving the ſmoke, and conjecturing the occaſion of it, entered the river, and began to diſcharge their guns upon the French army. Although they did not approach near enough to do much execution, yet ſo unexpected an event, in the time of battle, could not fail to produce an alarm even in the moſt reſolute, and it threw the cavalry into confuſion. Count Egmont improved, with great dexterity, the advantage which was thus preſented to him; and puſhing forward with all his force, he broke their ranks and diſperſed them. The infantry intimidated, turned their backs and fled. Near two thouſand veteran troops were ſlain on the field of battle. Many were drowned in the river; and ſome were killed by the peaſants, in revenge for the devaſtation of their country. A ſmall number only made their eſcape. The mareſchal De Thermes, who was grievouſly wounded, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, beſides three thouſand common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners. All the artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the victors; whoſe loſs did not exceed four hundred men.

PHILIP was now at liberty to employ all his forces united, againſt the duke of Guiſe. Having almoſt exhauſted his finances by the extraordinary effort which he made in the firſt campaign, and having found it impoſſible to draw any conſiderable ſupplies from England, it was late in the ſeaſon before he could aſſemble an army of ſufficient ſtrength. But after the Mareſchal de Thermes was defeated, and count Egmont's victorious troops were combined with thoſe under the duke of Savoy, the armies of the two monarchs were nearly a match for one another, and conſiſted, each of them, of more than forty thouſand men.

THEY came in ſight of each other, upon the borders of Picardy, where the duke of Savoy pitched his camp near Dourlens, and

Anxiety of Philip and Henry.

[a] Thuanus, lib. xx. Van Meteren, p. 16. Haræus, tom. ii. p. 698.

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the duke of Guiſe, in the neighbourhood of Pierrepont. Both kings diſcovered that anxiety which it was natural for them to feel in their preſent critical ſituation, and though they placed entire confidence in their generals, they could not be at eaſe while they remained at a diſtance from the ſcene of action, and therefore they repaired, each of them, to his reſpective camp. Many ſkirmiſhes happened with various ſucceſs. But it ſoon appeared that neither of the two monarchs was inclined to riſk a general engagement. The principal ſtrength of both armies conſiſted in their German forces, and it was apprehended that, if either of the two armies were defeated, the victors as well as the vanquiſhed would be expoſed to the injuries and inſults of the foreign troops [b].

They wiſh for peace.

BESIDES this conſideration, by which both parties were alike affected, there were other motives peculiar to each. Henry had, from his late misfortunes, learned a degree of caution, which nature had not beſtowed on him. He dreaded the event of another battle, in which he muſt encounter the ſame generals by whom his troops had been already twice conquered; and conſidered that, after his defeat at St. Quintin, it had been owing to the remiſſneſs or miſconduct of the enemy, more than to his own ſtrength, that his capital had not been taken, and his kingdom over-run. Philip, on the other hand, was, in all military affairs, cautious to exceſs; and choſe rather to accompliſh his deſigns by political negociation, in which he judged for himſelf, than by the operations of war, in which he depended on the abilities of others. Far from being elated with the ſucceſs which had hitherto accompanied his arms, he was now as deroſius of peace, as he had been before averſe to entering into the war. This is not to be aſcribed either to his moderation, or his freedom from

[b] Meteren. L. Guicciardini, lib. iii.

the

the ambition of extending his power and territories. No prince ever gave more convincing proofs of his being actuated by that ambition; but having, as was juſt now hinted, found, that his moſt vigorous exertions had been neceſſary to aſſemble the forces which he had brought into the field; he dreaded, that, in caſe his preſent army were defeated, the difficulty of raiſing another would be inſurmountable [c]. His arms, indeed, had hitherto been crowned with victory; but none of his generals had entered the liſts on equal terms with the duke of Guiſe; and he was juſtly apprehenſive with regard to the iſſue of a battle in which he muſt contend with a general ſo highly celebrated for his military genius, and whoſe enterpriſes had been ſo often accompanied with ſucceſs.

THESE conſiderations derived additional force from Philip's extreme impatience to return to Spain; for which, in preference to his other dominions, he diſcovered, through his whole reign, a warm and partial affection. And his deſire of going thither was increaſed by accounts which he received at this time, that the opinions of the Proteſtants had made their way into that kingdom. He dreaded the propagation of theſe opinions, and reſolved, as ſoon as poſſible, to embrace this opportunity in his native country, of teſtifying his zeal for the Catholic faith, by ſhewing, that he would treat thoſe who oppoſed it, without mercy, in whatever part of his dominions they ſhould be found.

Negociations for peace.

SUCH were the motives which made the contending monarchs ſo deſirous to put a period to the war. A negociation had been begun for this purpoſe in the month of Auguſt, by the conſtable Montmorenci, and William the firſt prince of Orange. Montmorenci, who beheld with much anxiety the exaltation

[c] Carte ſays, he received no leſs than three millions of gold during this war, from Peru, p. 343.

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of the family of Guiſe, had borne his captivity with great impatience; and in order to obtain his liberty, had exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in removing every obſtacle to the eſtabliſhment of peace. He was permitted to go to Paris on his parole, to treat in perſon with the king. A marriage was concluded about that time between his ſon and a grand-daughter of the dutcheſs of Valentinois. And by this event, joined to the king's habitual attachment to him, he recovered all his wonted influence; and eaſily perſuaded Henry to conſent to ſuch terms of accommodation as it was not likely that Philip would reject.

PLENIPOTENTIARIES were ſoon afterwards named by both princes, and a congreſs, for diſcuſſing their reſpective claims, appointed to be held at the Abbey of Cercamps, not far from the place where the armies were encamped. The duke of Alva, the prince of Orange, Ruy Gomez de Sylva, Granvelle biſhop of Arras, and Vigilius, preſident of the council of ſtate at Bruſſels, were nominated by Philip; and by Henry, the Conſtable himſelf was named, the Cardinal of Lorrain, the mareſchal of St. André, Morvilliers biſhop of Orange, and Aubeſpine the ſecretary of ſtate. The dutcheſs of Lorrain, whom it highly imported, on account of the vicinity of her dominions, that the two kings ſhould put an end to the war, acted with great aſſiduity the part of mediator between them.

THE conferences, which were opened in October, were ſoon afterwards interrupted by the death of Mary queen of England, who ended her ſhort inglorious reign on the ſeventeenth of November following. But Elizabeth renewed the powers of the Engliſh commiſſioners, and the congreſs was reſumed in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-nine, at Chateau Cambreſis [d].

[d] Forbes's Full View, p. 1.

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In removing ſo many grounds of difference as ſubſiſted between Philip and Henry, the plenipotentiaries encountered many difficulties; but the zeal and activity of the Conſtable, added to the unlimited influence which he had acquired over his maſter, ſurmounted every obſtacle, and ſoon brought the treaty, ſo far as Philip, Henry, and the duke of Savoy were concerned, to the deſired concluſion. Nothing retarded the ſigning of it, but the determined obſtinacy of the French commiſſioners in refuſing to reſtore Calais to the queen of England; who, on the other hand, declared, that ſhe would not lay down her arms unleſs that conqueſt were reſtored. Philip thought himſelf bound in honour to ſupport the claim of Elizabeth; ſince it was entirely on his account that the Engliſh nation had engaged in the war, and incurred the loſs of the place in queſtion. In a political view, likewiſe, he was deſirous that Calais ſhould be reſtored. He conſidered, that, in ſome future period, he might derive advantage, as his father had ſometimes done, from that facility which the poſſeſſion of Calais gave the Engliſh of invading France.

But the zeal which Philip diſcovered on this occaſion in behalf of Elizabeth, aroſe principally from a very different motive. By Mary's death, his connexion with England had lately been diſſolved, and he had formed the ſcheme of renewing it, by marrying Elizabeth. The duke of Feria, his ambaſſador at London, was ordered to propoſe the marriage, and at the ſame time to acquaint the queen that his maſter would procure a diſpenſation for it from the pope.

Elizabeth had many motives to deter her from liſtening to this propoſal. Philip's imperious temper would alone have been a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting it. Beſides this, ſhe knew well what apprehenſions her ſiſter's marriage had occaſioned among the Engliſh,

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Engliſh, with regard to their liberty and independence; and that her own popularity was greatly owing to the univerſal joy which their deliverance from theſe apprehenſions had excited. She conſidered that her marriage with Philip would be liable to the ſame objection as that of her father with Catharine of Arragon; and that her accepting of the pope's diſpenſation would be in effect to acknowledge that her mother's marriage was unlawful, and ſhe herſelf illegitimate. By doing this ſhe might ſecure to herſelf the protection of Spain, and thereby hold a precarious and dependent authority during Philip's life; but ſhe would forfeit for ever the favour of her proteſtant ſubjects, who alone were ſincerely attached to her perſon and government; while ſhe would throw herſelf on the mercy of the Catholics; who, conſidering her as an uſurper, would, on the firſt favourable opportunity of aſſerting the title of the queen of Scotland, think it their duty to deprive her of her crown.

WHILE, for theſe reaſons, Elizabeth was unalterably determined not to accept of Philip for a huſband, ſhe thought it prudent for ſome time to conceal her intention; and ſhe returned ſuch an ambiguous, but obliging anſwer to his ambaſſador, that Philip flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceſs, and actually took ſome ſteps to procure a diſpenſation. As long as there remained any foundation for theſe hopes, he appeared extremely zealous for the reſtitution of Calais. But when Elizabeth, finding herſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, ventured to introduce certain alterations in religion, which diſcovered her reſolution to aboliſh popery in her dominions, Philip conſidered this part of her conduct as a ſufficient indication of her intentions with regard to him. That zeal with which he had at firſt eſpouſed her intereſt, began to abate; and the Engliſh plenipotentiaries dreaded that, without

regard to the claim of their miſtreſs, he would not delay much longer to put the finiſhing hand to his treaty with the king of France[e].

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ELIZABETH at length perceived that it was in vain to hope for recovering Calais by treaty; and, as the ſituation of her affairs at home rendered it highly inexpedient to employ force, ſhe wiſely reſolved to give it up on the following conditions: that Henry ſhould reſtore it before the end of eight years, or pay 500,000 crowns; that foreign merchants, not ſubjects of France, ſhould give ſecurity for the money; that hoſtages ſhould be delivered, till that ſecurity were procured; and that, whether the money were paid or not, Elizabeth's claim ſhould remain valid, unleſs within the time ſpecified, ſhe ſhould commit hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of the French king.

Peace concluded.

TOWARDS his other allies, Philip's conduct was perfectly conformable to the dictates of the ſtricteſt honour. He procured the reſtitution of Montferrat to the duke of Mantua; of Bouillon to the biſhop of Liege; of the iſle of Corſica to the Genoeſe; and of all the towns which the French had ſeized in Savoy, Piedmont, and Breſſe, to the duke of Savoy. This peace was advantageous to himſelf as well as to the princes in alliance with him. He recovered Thionville, Marienburgh, Montmedi, and all the other places which had been taken by the French generals during the war, and acquired the ſovereignty of the county of Charolois[f].

[e] If it is likewiſe true, that he made an offer to Elizabeth, of continuing the war till ſhe ſhould recover what ſhe had loſt, upon condition that ſhe too would engage to carry it on for a certain term of years; it would then ſeem, that he gave little reaſon for accuſing him, as ſome authors have done, of having acted ungenerouſly towards his Engliſh allies. But as this circumſtance is omitted by the principal hiſtorians, and contradicts what is ſaid of his coldneſs with regard to the intereſt of Elizabeth, I have not ventured to advance it as an undoubted fact. Burnet, part ii. p. 383.

[f] Meteren, p. 24. Guicciardini, lib. iii.

IN

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In return for the many conceſſions made by Henry, that monarch received no other compenſation but St. Quintin, and the two unimportant towns of Ham and Catelet. While his people, therefore, rejoiced at the concluſion of the war, which had ſometimes excited in their minds the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, they complained bitterly of the inequality of the terms of peace, and were highly exaſperated againſt the conſtable; who, in order to accompliſh his private views, had abuſed the too eaſy temper of his maſter, and made a ſacrifice of the intereſts and the honour of France. Montmorenci durſt not have counſelled Henry to conſent to ſuch diſadvantageous terms, had he not deviſed the expedient of giving Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, in marriage to Philip, and Margaret, his ſiſter, to the duke of Savoy. Theſe marriages ſerved, in ſome meaſure, as an excuſe for the ample conceſſions made to theſe two princes; ſince honourable ſettlements were thereby obtained for the daughter and ſiſter of the king.

Amidst that attention which Philip and Henry beſtowed in this treaty, on their political and civil intereſts, religion was not forgotten. They bound themſelves mutually to maintain the Catholic faith in their dominions; and to procure [g] the convocation of a general council, for ſuppreſſing hereſy, and reſtoring tranquillity to the church.

Death of Henry.

It is not to be doubted that Henry would have fulfilled this article of the treaty with the ſame exactneſs which he obſerved in executing the other articles; but a ſudden period was put to his life, in a few months after the peace was ſigned, by an accident which happened in the time of the rejoicings celebrated on account of his ſiſter's marriage. Having entered the liſts at a tournament with the count of Montgomery, captain of his

[g] Padre Paolo Hiſt. lib. v.

guards,

guards, the count's lance broke on Henry's corſlet, and a ſplinter of it having pierced his right eye, inflicted a wound, of which he died in a few days, at the age of forty. 1559.

THIS melancholy event made no alteration with reſpect to the treaty of peace. The duke of Alva had ſome time before eſpouſed Elizabeth, in his maſter's name; and Margaret's marriage with Emanuel was celebrated privately in a chapel of the palace.

State of France.

THE courtiers and the people of France were affected variouſly by Henry's death. The Conſtable loſt thereby all the fruits of his late intrigues, and was ſoon afterwards obliged to retire from court, and to reſign that power which he had ſhewn himſelf ſo ſolicitous to attain, into the hands of his enemies.

Francis II.

THE young king, Francis the Second, a prince equally weak in body and in mind, was entirely governed by his wife, the celebrated Mary queen of Scots; who was blindly devoted to her uncles, the cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Guiſe. Theſe two men engroſſed almoſt the whole adminiſtration of the kingdom; admitting only the queen-mother to a ſhare of it, from their knowledge of her ambitious, intriguing ſpirit, and the dread which they entertained of her influence, as a mother, over the feeble mind of Francis. They ſhewed no moderation in the exerciſe of the power which they had uſurped; but ſeized on every advantage for themſelves, and laid hold of every opportunity to humble and mortify their adverſaries. The princes of the blood, with Lewis prince of Condé at their head, bore with extreme impatience the inſignificance to which they were reduced; and reſolved to embrace the firſt occaſion that ſhould offer, to vindicate their right to that ſhare in the management of affairs, to which they thought themſelves intitled by their birth, and the ancient practice of the realm [1].

[1] Davila, Caſtelnau ab initio, & Additions aux Memoires de Caſtelnau.

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WHILE the great men in France were thus animated againſt each other by conſiderations of a political nature, the people were violently agitated, and their minds inflamed by religious controverſies. Under the reign of Henry, the Calviniſts had ſuffered the moſt cruel perſecution; yet they had multiplied exceedingly during that period in every quarter of the kingdom. The duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine kept alive the flames of perſecution againſt them, and on all occaſions appeared intent on their deſtruction. This alone would have determined the prince of Condé and his adherents to eſpouſe the proteſtant cauſe; for even although we ſhould not believe that the chiefs in either party were ſincere in their religious profeſſion, yet it cannot be ſuppoſed they would have failed to embrace ſo ſpecious a pretext as the differences in religion afforded them to palliate their conduct. The prince of Condé would inſtantly have had recourſe to arms, if the admiral, more prudent and ſagacious, had not prevailed on him to ſuſpend his reſolution till a more favourable juncture; but it was impoſſible that paſſions ſo violent as thoſe by which both parties were impelled, could be kept long under reſtraint; and to every perſon capable of reflecting on what he ſaw paſſing before him, it was apparent that the nation was upon the eve of a civil war.

FRANCE has in no period produced a more remarkable aſſemblage of great men than in the preſent and the ſucceeding reigns; and had there been a prince upon the throne poſſeſſed of abilities ſufficient to controul their inordinate ambition, the French nation might have much ſooner reached that degree of greatneſs and proſperity, which it attained towards the concluſion of the following century: but this mighty kingdom, poſſeſſed of every advantage which nature beſtows, became a ſcene of devaſtation and miſery for almoſt forty years, through the miſapplication of thoſe

very talents, which, if they had been properly employed, would have rendered it proſperous and happy. 1559.

NOTHING could be more deſirable to Philip than this confuſion, and the debility conſequent upon it, in that nation, from which alone he had reaſon to expect oppoſition to his deſigns. It left him at liberty to purſue whatever meaſures he ſhould think proper for the confirmation and increaſe of his power in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands; and it gave no ſmall reaſon to the other European powers to apprehend, that France itſelf would fall under the Spaniſh yoke.

State of Italy.

IN Italy, the ſtate of affairs was no leſs favourable to Philip's views, than in France. He was now the ſole and undiſputed ſovereign of the dutchy of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. His inveterate enemy, Paul the Fourth, was lately dead; and Pius the Fourth, who was no leſs devoted to his intereſt than Paul had been adverſe, was raiſed to the papal throne. The republic of Genoa, the dukes of Savoy, Mantua, Tuſcany, and Parma, were his allies, whom he had bound to his intereſt by the ſtrongeſt ties; the three firſt, by procuring for them the reſtitution of their dominions from the French King; the fourth, by granting him the inveſtiture of Siena; and the laſt, by ceding to him the city of Placentia and its territory.

AFTER the concluſion of the peace, nothing remained to render Philip uneaſy, either in his own dominions or in the neighbouring kingdoms, but the progreſs which the reformers had made, and were ſtill making, in almoſt every country in Europe. From Germany and Switzerland, where the Reformation took its riſe, it had ſpread with the moſt aſtoniſhing rapidity. It had become the eſtabliſhed religion, not only in ſeveral of the conſiderable provinces and free cities in Germany and the Cantons in Switzerland, but likewiſe in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Sweden,

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and Denmark; and in ſome of thoſe ſtates where the ancient religion ſtill maintained its ground, the proteſtants were grown ſo numerous as to be extremely formidable to their opponents.

FROM the conſtant intercourſe which ſubſiſts between Germany and the Netherlands, it was impoſſible but the new opinions muſt have been early propagated from the former to the latter; and accordingly, in the month of May 1521, the emperor Charles had publiſhed an edict, in which all the penalties of high treaſon were denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of holding any of Luther's tenets; or of republiſhing, or vending any books written by him or his followers. In the execution of this edict, which Charles from time to time renewed, all the fury of perſecution was exerciſed; and it is affirmed by ſeveral cotemporary hiſtorians, that during the reign of Charles fifty thouſand of the inhabitants of the Low Countries were put to death on account of their religious principles. Theſe principles, however, far from being extirpated, were more and more diffuſed in the midſt of thoſe ſeverities which were employed to ſuppreſs them.

PHILIP was not ignorant of the progreſs which they had made; and it gave him the greater uneaſineſs, becauſe, being exceedingly deſirous of ſetting out for Spain, he would be obliged to commit the buſineſs of extirpating hereſy from the Netherlands to others, whom he could not ſuppoſe poſſeſſed of the ſame fervent zeal againſt it, of which he himſelf was conſcious. In order to prevent as much as poſſible the inconveniences which might ariſe from his abſence, he had gone from his camp at Dourlens to Bruſſels, and had been employed during the winter ſeaſon in ſettling the government of the provinces.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK III.

1559.

THE provinces, which, on account of their ſituation are called the Netherlands, were long governed, by their reſpective princes, under the titles of Dukes, Marquiſſes, or Counts. Theſe princes were for many years engaged in perpetual wars with the neighbouring powers, or with one another; and, as they had frequent occaſions, during theſe wars, to have recourſe to the people for ſupplies, the cities, the nobles, and eccleſiaſtics, acquired, in return, ſeveral rights and privileges, by which the provinces partook more of the nature of republics, than of regal governments. The ſupreme authority was lodged in the aſſembly of the States, which had the power of meeting as often as the members thought expedient. And without the conſent of that aſſembly, no war could be undertaken, no taxes could be impoſed, no new laws enacted, no change made in the current coin, and no foreigners admitted into any branch of the adminiſtration.

Ancient ſtate of the Netherlands.

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ſtration. The ſovereignty deſcended according to the ordinary laws of hereditary ſucceſſion; but no prince was allowed to enter upon the exerciſe of it, till he had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve and maintain the fundamental laws [a].

IN this ſituation theſe provinces remained for ſeveral ages; till by the failure of the male line in ſome of the reigning families, by intermarriages, and by conqueſts, they fell under the dominion of the houſe of Burgundy. After this event they ſtill continued to enjoy their ancient privileges, and to be governed according to their old laws; with this difference only, that whereas all criminal and civil cauſes had been formerly determined, in the laſt reſort, by the councils of the ſeveral provinces, it was eſtabliſhed, that parties might appeal from theſe to the tribunal of Mechlin; which was inſtituted in order to unite the provinces more cloſely, and to give them more the appearance of one ſtate.

Proſperity of the Provinces.

UNDER the adminiſtration of the Burgundian princes, and even long before their acceſſion to the ſovereignty, trade and manufactures flouriſhed in the Netherlands more than in any other European ſtate. No city in thoſe days, except Venice, poſſeſſed ſuch extenſive commerce as Antwerp. It was the ſtaple, or great mart of all the northern nations. Bruges was little inferior. Arras was famous for tapeſtries, which ſtill retain the name of that place. In the city of Ghent there were many thouſand artificers employed in the woollen manufacture, long before the art was known to the Engliſh, from whom the wool was purchaſed by the induſtrious Flemings.

Cauſes of it.

FOR this proſperity the inhabitants of the Netherlands were, in a great meaſure, indebted to the nature and ſituation of their country; which, as it lies in the centre of Europe, commanding

[a] Grotius de Antiq. Repub. Batav. cap. 5.

the

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the entrance and navigation of ſeveral of the great rivers of Germany, and is almoſt every where interſected by theſe rivers, or, by canals and branches of the ſea, is admirably fitted both for foreign and domeſtic or inland trade. This ſingular advantage, however, could not have enabled the Flemings to leave the other European nations ſo far behind them, if the form of their civil government had not been peculiarly favourable to their exertions. The greateſt advantages which nature affords for improvement in the arts of life, may be rendered uſeleſs to the people who poſſeſs them, by an injudicious, or tyrannical and oppreſſive exerciſe of the civil power. And univerſal experience proves, how vain it is to expect that men will apply themſelves with vigour to commercial purſuits, where their perſons are inſecure, or where the fruits of their induſtry may be ſeized by the rapacious hand of a deſpotic prince. But happily for the inhabitants of the Low Countries, the ſovereigns of the ſeveral provinces (unable, perhaps, from the ſmall extent of their dominions, to execute any plan of tyranny againſt the people) were, at a very early period, induced to give their conſent and ſanction to the above-mentioned ſyſtem of fundamental laws; by which, although their prerogative was abridged, yet their power and reſources were greatly augmented, through that proſperity which their moderate government had enabled their ſubjects to attain.

THE ſovereignty of theſe flouriſhing provinces paſſed from the family of Burgundy into that of Auſtria, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, and ſole heireſs of his dominions, with Maximilian, ſon of Frederic the Third, emperor of Germany. This marriage was ſet on foot and concluded by the Flemings themſelves, who, agreeably to their free maxims of government, aſſumed the direction of the conduct of their princeſs in this matter, which ſo nearly concerned their proſperity and ſafety.

LEWIS

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LEWIS the Eleventh of France had demanded her for his ſon the dauphin; whilſt he moſt impolitically gave offence to the States, by ſeizing upon Burgundy and Picardy as fiefs of the kingdom of France. This imprudent ſtep, and the death of the biſhop of Liege, uncle of Mary, and a partiſan of Lewis, determined the Flemings in their choice. They judged wiſely, that their liberty would be ſafer in the hands of Maximilian, whoſe hereditary dominions were ſmall, and lay at a diſtance from them, than in thoſe of a neighbouring prince ſo powerful as Lewis, who, in all his conduct, had diſcovered ſo much injuſtice and rapacity.

THE Flemings ſhewed the ſame laudable jealouſy of their privileges after Maximilian's marriage with their princeſs, which had influenced them in their choice of him for her huſband. About four years after her marriage, Mary died of a bruiſe which ſhe received by a fall from horſeback, when ſhe was big with child. Maximilian, under the name of tutor to his ſon Philip, aſſumed the reins of government. The Flemings conſidered his conduct as an encroachment on their rights, and refuſed to acknowledge his authority, till the States had ordained that he ſhould be admitted as governor, only for a limited time, and upon conditions which they required he ſhould take an oath to fulfil.

HE did not obſerve theſe conditions ſo exactly as they expected. They complained of his conferring offices upon Burgundians and Germans. They were grievouſly offended with him for introducing foreign troops into the provinces, and apprehended that he had formed a deſign againſt their liberty. After he was elected king of the Romans, their ſuſpicions roſe to ſo great a height, that, upon his entering the city of Bruges with a numerous train of attendants, the inhabitants ran to arms, ſurrounded him in the market-place, ſeized his perſon, and confined him in the caſtle,

where

where they kept him priſoner for ſeveral months. The pope and emperor interpoſed in his behalf, but could not obtain his liberty till he had given ſecurity with regard to the ſeveral particulars on account of which they had taken offence. 1559.

Charles V.

Of the ſame jealous attention to their liberty the Flemings gave proofs during the adminiſtration of Maximilian's ſucceſſors. Under that of his grandſon Charles V. they had real ground of uneaſineſs. Charles might have eaſily ſubdued them, if he had been inclined to uſe his power ſo ungenerouſly: and his arbitrary temper had ſufficiently appeared in his government of Spain and Germany; in both which countries he had trampled on all thoſe rights of the people, which had been long eſteemed the moſt inviolable. On ſeveral occaſions he had introduced foreign troops into the Low Countries; and it has been aſſerted [b], that he once deliberated whether he ſhould employ them in eſtabliſhing in the provinces the ſame ſort of arbitrary government which ſubſiſted in his Spaniſh and Italian dominions.

His popularity.

But Charles was born in the Netherlands, and had paſſed there the pleaſanteſt of his younger days. He loved the people, and was fond of their manners; which reſembled his own, and were not ſo reſerved and ſtately as thoſe of the Spaniards. From taſte and early attachment he kept them always about his perſon, and had beſtowed on them the moſt important offices in his dominions. To his preceptor, Adrian of Utrecht, who, through his intereſt, was afterwards advanced to the papacy, he committed the government of Spain: and Charles de Lanoy, whom he appointed viceroy of Naples, was intruſted with the management of his affairs in Italy for ſeveral years, with unlimited authority. In all the wars which he carried on in Germany, and on the frontiers of France, he placed a particular confidence in his Flemiſh troops;

[b] Grotius, p. 6.

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uſed the people, when he reſided among them, with the moſt courteous familiarity, and baniſhed from his intercourſe with them, that form and ceremony which renders it ſo difficult for princes either to know that they are beloved, or to ſhew that they deſerve it [c].

THE Flemings entertained a grateful ſenſe of the kindneſs with which he treated them. If we except the inſurrection of the people of Ghent, there happened almoſt no diſturbance in the Netherlands during his reign. The States aſſiſted him liberally in defraying the expence of thoſe wars in which he was almoſt continually engaged, and diſcovered, at all times, a warm attachment to his perſon.

CHARLES would gladly have tranſmitted to his ſon the affection which he bore towards his Flemiſh ſubjects; and for this purpoſe he had, as above related, brought him to Flanders in his youth, in order to reconcile him to the manners and cuſtoms of the people. And afterwards, when he himſelf had reſolved to retire from the world, and to leave the government of his dominions in the hands of Philip, he exhorted him, with much earneſtneſs, to cultivate the affections of the Flemings, and to govern them according to thoſe laws to which they had been ſo long accuſtomed, and were ſo ſtrongly attached.

Of Philip. His unpopular behaviour.

BUT Philip could not enter into his father's views. He had never made any conſiderable ſtay in the Netherlands; and could not be fond of a people whoſe manners were ſo different from his own. In Spain, where he received his education, he had been taught the moſt ſuperſtitious reverence for the Holy See, and had imbibed the moſt extravagant ideas of the extent of regal authority. Charles was not, in reality, leſs fond of power; but in him ambition was, in ſome meaſure, tempered and corrected

[c] Bentivoglio, p. 4.

by

by his acquaintance with the world; whereas, in Philip, it was perverted and inflamed by the ſentiments of an illiberal, cruel, gloomy ſuperſtition.

The Flemings jealous of him.

THE Flemings had long perceived and lamented the difference between the character of their late, and that of their preſent ſovereign. Philip had taken the uſual oath, by which he bound himſelf to maintain their privileges; and had made them the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of regard and affection. But they judged of his diſpoſition towards them from his conduct, rather than from his oath or his profeſſions. They were not admitted, whilſt he lived amongſt them, to any ſhare of his truſt and confidence; and, in violation of their fundamental laws, he committed the adminiſtration of the moſt important branches of government to the biſhop of Arras, a Burgundian; or to his Spaniſh miniſters, Ruy Gomez de Sylva, prince of Eboli, and the dukes of Feria and Alva; whom the Flemings conſidered as enemies to their nation, and ſtrenuous abettors of that deſpotic power, to which, from the beginning of Philip's reign, they had ſuſpected that he aſpired.

The edicts againſt the Proteſtants.

IT was not long before he gave them convincing proof how well-grounded their fears were with regard to his intentions, by the meaſures which he employed for extinguiſhing the new opinions in religion. Theſe opinions had been of late diffuſed through every corner of the Netherlands; having been imported thither, partly by foreign merchants who came to reſide there; and partly by the Swiſs and German troops, whom both Charles and Philip had employed in their wars againſt France; but chiefly by the Engliſh, French, and German proteſtants, who had fled from the perſecutions which were carried on againſt them in their native countries.

CHARLES had, as mentioned in the preceding book, ſhewn the ſame inclination to extirpate the reformed religion in the Ne-

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therlands, which he had diſcovered in Germany; and had, for this purpoſe, publiſhed ſeveral edicts againſt the Proteſtants; many of whom had ſuffered the moſt cruel death[d].

GREAT numbers had begun to leave the provinces, and to tranſport their families and effects to the neighbouring ſtates. Charles was moved with the repreſentation which he received of this event, from the regent his ſiſter, the queen dowager of Hungary. He felt for the calamities of the people, and he dreaded the conſequences of depopulating a country from which he had often received the moſt effectual aſſiſtance and ſupport.

BUT theſe conſiderations had no degree of influence on Philip. He republiſhed the edicts, and ordered the governors and magiſtrates to carry them into rigorous execution.

IN theſe edicts it was enacted, that all perſons who held any erroneous opinion ſhould be deprived of their offices, and degraded from their rank. It was ordained, that whoever ſhould be convicted of having taught heretical doctrines, or of having been preſent at the religious meetings of heretics, ſhould, if they were men, be put to death by the ſword, and if women, be buried alive. Such were the puniſhments denounced even againſt thoſe who repented of their errors and forſook them; while all who perſiſted in them were condemned to the flames. And even thoſe who afforded ſhelter to heretics in their houſes, or who omitted to give information againſt them, were ſubjected to the ſame penalties as heretics themſelves.

The inquiſition.

PHILIP was not ſatisfied with publiſhing and executing theſe cruel edicts. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed a particular tribunal for the extirpation of hereſy, which, although it was not called by the

[d] It is almoſt incredible that the number of thoſe who ſuffered could amount to 50,000, yet this is affirmed by ſeveral hiſtorians. Meteren calls the number 50,000. Grotius, p. 12. calls it 100,000. F. Paul, lib. v. calls it 50,000.

name

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name Inquiſition, had all the eſſentials of that iniquitous inſtitution. Perſons were committed to priſon upon bare ſuſpicion, and put to the torture on the ſlighteſt evidence. The accuſed were not confronted with their accuſers, or made acquainted with the crimes for which they ſuffered. The civil judges were not allowed to take any further concern in proſecutions for hereſy, than to execute the ſentences which the inquiſitors had pronounced. The poſſeſſions of the ſufferers were confiſcated; and informers were encouraged, by an aſſurance of impunity in caſe they themſelves were guilty, and by the promiſe of rewards[e].

It is not ſurpriſing, that the eſtabliſhment of this arbitrary tribunal ſhould have occaſioned diſquietude in the Netherlands. It had created diſturbance even in Spain and Italy, where the people could not boaſt ſo much as the Flemings of their civil rights; and had been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by many who were ſincerely attached to the Catholic religion. In the Flemings it excited the moſt frightful apprehenſions. They conſidered it as utterly ſubverſive of their liberty. They dreaded the ruin of their commerce; which could not ſubſiſt unleſs the foreign merchants, many of whom were proteſtants, could reſide among them with ſafety. The new opinions had been propagated throughout all the provinces, and men knew not how far the inquiſitors might extend their power, or how great a number might be found liable to puniſhments that were denounced, not only againſt heretics themſelves, but againſt all thoſe who were ſuſpected to befriend them.

To theſe cauſes of diſcontent Philip added another, by increaſing the number of biſhoprics from five to ſeventeen, the number of the provinces. This meaſure, which would not at any other time have given much offence, was in the preſent juncture uni- New erection of biſhoprics.

[e] Grotius Annales, lib. i.

verſally

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verſally diſagreeable. Granville biſhop of Arras was the chief adviſer of it; nor did he and the king's other counſellors ſcruple to acknowledge, that their intention in promoting it, was to have at all times a ſufficient number of perſons in the Netherlands, upon whoſe zeal the king could rely for a vigorous execution of the edicts.

The new biſhops were therefore conſidered as ſo many new inquiſitors. Their creation was regarded as an encroachment on the privileges of the provinces, and a violation, on the part of the king, of the oath which he had taken at his acceſſion, to preſerve the church in the condition in which he found it. The principal nobility were particularly averſe to this innovation, becauſe the number of the counſellors of ſtate was thereby greatly augmented, and conſequently the influence of the ancient members of the council was impaired, and the balance of power thrown into the hands of the clergy; who, they doubted not, would on all occaſions ſhew themſelves ready to ſupport the arbitrary meaſures of the ſovereign. But no ſect of men exclaimed ſo loudly as the Monks and Abbots, whoſe oppoſition was inflamed by motives both of ambition and intereſt. For beſides that they would be obliged to yield the precedency to the biſhops, and have much leſs weight than hitherto in the aſſemblies of the States, it was out of their revenues that the new biſhoprics were to be endowed. They were therefore highly incenſed. They laboured to connect their private intereſt with that of the public; and repreſented the new erection as no leſs pernicious to the country in general, than it was to their order in particular[f].

Spaniſh troops in the Netherlands.

BESIDES the grievances enumerated, the Flemings complained bitterly, that in the midſt of peace the provinces were filled with Spaniſh ſoldiers. They had ever eſteemed it one of their moſt

[f] Bentivoglio, lib. i.

valuable

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valuable privileges, that, according to their fundamental laws, no foreign troops could be brought into the Netherlands. Charles indeed had often introduced them in the courſe of his wars with France, and with the proteſtants in Germany. But the Flemings had been dazzled with the glory which generally attended that monarch's arms, and had not entertained the ſame jealouſy of his intentions as of thoſe of Philip; who, they could not help thinking, had formed a deſign to reduce them under a deſpotic government; and had, with this view, deferred ſo long the diſmiſſion of his Spaniſh troops. Their diſcontent was greatly increaſed by the inſolent and rapacious behaviour of theſe troops; which in Zealand was ſo intolerable, that the people actually refuſed to work at their dykes, ſaying, that they choſe rather to be ſwallowed up by the ocean, than to remain a prey to the cruelty and avarice of the Spaniſh ſoldiers [g].

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs, and ſuch the temper of the people, when Philip, intending to ſet out for Spain, was deliberating concerning a proper perſon to whom he might commit the government of the Netherlands.

The dutcheſs of Parma appointed regent.

HE heſitated for ſome time between Chriſtina the dutcheſs of Lorrain, his couſin, and Margaret dutcheſs of Parma, a natural daughter of the late emperor. The former had diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her prudent conduct in the government of Lorrain after her huſband's death, and had lately acquired conſiderable reputation by her negociations in the treaty of peace at Chateau-Cambreſis. From the vicinity of Lorrain to the Low Countries, the Flemings were well acquainted with her character; and, as they had groaned under the burden of the French war, and had now begun to taſte, with gratitude, the fruits of that peace which

[g] Theſe ſoldiers were not removed till the year following, when Philip had occaſion for them elſewhere. Reidanus, p. 5. Meurſii Auriacus, near the beginning.

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Chriſtina's wiſdom had contributed to procure for them, they were exceedingly deſirous that the government of the provinces ſhould be left in her hands. But Philip had good reaſon for the preference which he gave to the dutcheſs of Parma. The dukes of Lorrain were, from their ſituation, in ſome meaſure dependent upon the crown of France; whereas the dutchy of Parma was ſurrounded with Philip's Italian dominions; and the duke and dutcheſs were willing to ſend their ſon, the celebrated Alexander Farneſe prince of Parma, to the court of Spain; on pretence of being educated there, but, in truth, as a pledge of that implicit obedience which the dutcheſs engaged to yield to the king's injunctions in her government of the provinces [h].

As Philip did not intend to return ſoon to the Netherlands, he thought proper, before his departure, to ſummon a convention of the States; which was accordingly held in Ghent. He was preſent himſelf, accompanied by the new regent, at the firſt opening of that aſſembly; but as he could not ſpeak the language of the country, he employed the biſhop of Arras to addreſs the deputies in his name.

The biſhop of Arras's ſpeech to the States.

THE biſhop began his ſpeech with informing them of the king's reſolution of going to Spain, and the reaſons which rendered his journey thither neceſſary. He expatiated on the affection which Philip bore towards his Flemiſh ſubjects; to whom his family had been ſo much indebted for that aſcendant and influence, which had given them poſſeſſion of ſuch extenſive territories. His affairs in Spain, he hoped, would not detain him long; but, in caſe they ſhould, he promiſed to ſend his ſon to reſide in the Netherlands. In the mean time he earneſtly exhorted the States to ſtudy to preſerve the public peace; and to this end he thought that nothing could conduce ſo much, as the

[h] Bentivoglio.

extirpation

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extirpation of hereſy, which, whilſt it ſet men at variance with God, put arms into their hands againſt their civil ſovereign. They ought therefore zealouſly to maintain the purity of their ancient faith, and for this purpoſe, to execute with vigour the ſeveral edicts publiſhed for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. In this, and every other meaſure, he hoped that they would concur chearfully with the dutcheſs of Parma, whom he had appointed regent in his abſence. He would leave the Netherlands, impreſſed with the deepeſt ſenſe of that fidelity and affection which his ſubjects there had ever ſhewn him; and would, as ſoon as poſſible, remove the foreign troops, and deliver the people from every other burden which the exigency of his affairs had made it neceſſary to impoſe[k].

The anſwer of the States to this ſpeech contained the warmeſt ſentiments of affection and loyalty. But, before the convention was diſſolved, Philip perceived that the deputies were far from being ſatisfied with every part of his adminiſtration. They had expected that the troops would have been immediately tranſported to Spain, and could not diſcover any reaſon for keeping them longer in the Low-Countries but ſuch as filled their minds with terror. Their ſuſpicion that the Inquiſition was about to be eſtabliſhed in the Netherlands, excited the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions. There were ſome of the deputies who ſcrupled not openly to remonſtrate, That the Low Countries had never been accuſtomed to an inſtitution of ſo much rigour and ſeverity: That the people trembled at the very name of the Inquiſition, and would fly to the remoteſt corners of the earth rather than ſubmit to it: That it was not by fire and the ſword, but by the gentleſt and ſofteſt remedies, that the evil complained of muſt be cured:

[k] Bentivoglio, p. 9.

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That as each individual had a habit or conſtitution of body peculiar to himſelf, ſo every nation had a peculiar temperament or character: That what might be ſuitable to Spain or Italy, would be extremely unfit for the Netherlands; and that, in general, the nations in the ſouthern parts of the world could live happily under a degree of reſtraint which would render the northern nations extremely miſerable[l].

Philip refuſes to gratify them.

THESE and ſuch other repreſentations were addreſſed to the king himſelf by ſome of the deputies, who endeavoured to perſuade him to annul, or at leaſt to moderate the edicts. But on this head Philip was inexorable. And when one of his miniſters repreſented, that, by perſiſting in the execution of theſe edicts, he might kindle the ſeeds of rebellion, and thereby loſe the ſovereignty of the provinces; he replied, "That he had much rather "be no king at all, than have heretics for his ſubjects[m]."

HIS religion, which was of all ſuperſtitions the moſt intolerant; his temper of mind, which was naturally haughty and ſevere; his pride, which would have been wounded by yielding to what he had repeatedly declared he would never yield; his engagements with the pope, and an oath which he had taken to devote his reign to the defence of the popiſh faith and the extirpation of hereſy; above all, his thirſt for deſpotic power, with which he conſidered the liberties claimed in religious matters by the proteſtants as utterly incompatible; all theſe cauſes united, rendered him deaf to the remonſtrances which were made to him, and fixed him unalterably in his reſolution to execute the edicts with the utmoſt rigour. He ſhewed himſelf equally inflexible with regard to the new biſhoprics; nor would he conſent at this time to withdraw

[l] Bentivoglio, lib. i.

[m] Chegli voleva piu toſto reſtar ſenza regni, che poſſedergli con hereſia. Bentivoglio, p. 10.

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the Spaniſh ſoldiers. In order, however, to leſſen the odium ariſing from his refuſal, he offered the command of theſe troops to the prince of Orange and Count Egmont, the two ableſt and moſt popular noblemen in the Netherlands; the former of whom he had appointed governor of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht; and the latter, of Artois and Flanders. Both of them declined accepting of the offer which was made to them, and had the courage to declare, that they conſidered the continuance of the troops in the Low Countries, after peace had been eſtabliſhed with France, as a violation of the fundamental laws of the conſtitution.

Count Egmont.

COUNT EGMONT, deſcended from the dukes of Guelderland, and one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen in the Netherlands, having lately gained immortal honour by the victories of St. Quintin and Gravelines, had juſt ground to expect the higheſt rewards in the power of Philip to beſtow.

William I. prince of Orange.

THE prince of Orange, ſo well known in hiſtory by the name of William the Firſt, was the repreſentative of the ancient and illuſtrious family of Naſſau in Germany. From his anceſtors, one of whom had been emperor of Germany, he inherited ſeveral rich poſſeſſions in the Netherlands; and he had ſucceeded to the principality of Orange by the will of Renè de Naſſau and Chalons, his couſin-german, in the year 1544. From that time the late emperor had kept him perpetually about his perſon, and had early diſcovered in him all thoſe extraordinary talents which rendered him afterwards one of the moſt illuſtrious perſonages of the age. Both he and count Egmont had aſpired to the regency; and their declining to accept of the command of the Spaniſh troops was, by ſome, aſcribed to the chagrin occaſioned by their diſappointment[n]. The prince of Orange, after dropping

[n] Ferreras, tom. ix. Grotius, p. 4—9.

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his own pretenſions, had expreſſed his deſire to have the regency beſtowed on the dutchy of Lorrain; and this diſcovery of William's inclination is ſaid to have been a principal motive with Philip, and his Spaniſh counſellors, for conferring it on the dutcheſs of Parma. Nor were they ſatisfied with thwarting him in this. He had begun and made ſome progreſs in a treaty of marriage with one of the princeſſes of Lorrain. In this meaſure likewiſe they oppoſed him, from an apprehenſion, it was pretended, that ſo cloſe a connexion with a family of ſo great influence, and whoſe territories lay ſo near the Netherlands, would give him an acceſſion of power that might be dangerous in the hands of a perſon whoſe loyalty there was reaſon to ſuſpect.

Cauſes of Philip's alienation from him.

IT does not however appear, that, before the aſſembly of the States, Philip had any juſt ground for his ſuſpicions of William's conduct; and there is only one circumſtance recorded to which they can be aſcribed. The prince having been ſent to France as an hoſtage for the execution of ſome articles of the peace of Chateau-Cambreſis, had, during his reſidence there, diſcovered a ſcheme formed by the French and Spaniſh monarchs for the extirpation of the proteſtants. This ſcheme he had communicated to ſuch of his friends in the Netherlands as had embraced the reformed religion, and from that time the king ceaſed to treat him with his wonted confidence [o].

BUT we find a ſtill more ſatisfactory account of Philip's alienation from the prince, in the jealouſy of Granvelle and the Spaniſh miniſters. From his early youth William had been conſidered as a principal favourite of the late emperor, who had on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed him with peculiar marks of his eſteem. Charles uſed to communicate to him his moſt ſecret counſels, and had

[o] Bentivoglio, p. 6. Thuanus, tom. i. lib. xxii. ſect. 10.

been

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been heard to declare, that the prince, though ſcarcely arrived at the years of manhood, had often ſuggeſted expedients to him that were of great advantage to his affairs. William was in the twenty-third year of his age when Charles reſigned his dominions, yet he had already received ſeveral public proofs of the emperor's attachment. Not to mention his making choice of him to ſupport him in that auguſt aſſembly in which he reſigned his dominions, or his beſtowing on him, in preference to his other courtiers, the honour of carrying the Imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand; he had appointed him commander in chief of his army, in the abſence of the duke of Savoy, when the prince was only two and twenty years old. Againſt this meaſure all his counſellors had remonſtrated, and had repreſented to him the ſuperior character of the French generals, the duke de Nevers, and the admiral de Coligni. But Charles adhered to his choice, and had no reaſon afterwards to repent of it. William not only ſaved the troops while they were under his command from ſuſtaining any misfortune or calamity, but fortified Charlemont and Philipville, and thereby ſecured the frontier of the Netherlands, in ſpite of the moſt vigorous efforts which the enemy could make to prevent him. This uncommon degree of attachment that was ſhewn him by the father, was the real cauſe of the coldneſs with which he was treated by the ſon. Granvelle and the Spaniſh miniſters were envious of his riſing greatneſs, and took every opportunity to inſpire Philip with ſuſpicions of his deſigns, and an averſion to his character. Philip was confirmed in his ſuſpicions by William's refuſing to accept of the command of the troops; and ſaw that neither he, nor count Egmont, who likewiſe declined accepting it, were perſons on whom he could depend for executing the plan which he had formed for eſtabliſhing deſpotiſm in the provinces.

He

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He left them, however, in poſſeſſion of the ſeveral governments to which they had been appointed, and ſtill allowed them to hold their places as formerly in the council of State. Their merit, he was ſenſible, intitled them to all the honours and offices which they enjoyed. He knew how extenſive their influence was among the people; and he was conſcious they had been guilty of nothing that could juſtify him for removing them from their employments; ſince, even when their conduct had offended him the moſt, they had only exerciſed thoſe rights, which, by the fundamental laws of the country, belonged to every inhabitant of the Netherlands.

But although Philip did not think proper to diſmiſs them from his ſervice, he reſolved that they ſhould not have power to fruſtrate his intentions. And for this purpoſe he left, for principal counſellor to the regent, the biſhop of Arras, whoſe views were entirely coincident with his own, and in whom, therefore, the dutcheſs of Parma was deſired to repoſe unlimited confidence.

The biſhop of Arras.

Anthony Perenot, biſhop of Arras, ſo well known in the hiſtory of the Netherlands by the name of cardinal Granvelle, was ſon to the celebrated chancellor of that name, whom the late emperor had for many years intruſted with the management of his moſt important affairs. Anthony having been early initiated into buſineſs, had been employed by the emperor for ſeveral years in the niceſt political negociations, and in ſome of the higheſt departments of the ſtate. He was a perſon of extraordinary abilities, and particularly diſtinguiſhed for his eloquence, his activity, his induſtry, and addreſs. Yet he was extremely odious to the people whom he was left to govern, who conſidered him as the principal author of all their grievances. In the court of Charles, and afterwards in that of Philip, he had acquired habits and principles not unſuitable perhaps to the miniſter of a deſpotic prince, but which rendered him exceedingly unfit

for the government of the Low Countries, where the power of the ſovereign was ſo much limited by the laws. He was naturally choleric and haughty, vain, and oſtentatious of his credit with the king; and, by an imperious and intereſted behaviour, had diſguſted many of his friends, and inflamed the reſentment of his enemies. He was particularly obnoxious to the principal nobility; and, in the courſe of his miniſtry, had been inſtrumental in diſappointing many of them in their moſt favourite views of ambition and intereſt[p].

In the hands of a perſon ſo univerſally diſliked, it could not reaſonably be expected that the government would proceed ſmoothly. While Philip himſelf was preſent, the diſcontented nobles were overawed. But no ſooner was that reſtraint removed which the king's preſence impoſed upon them, than their ill-humour broke out, with a degree of violence that drew after it the moſt ſerious and important conſequences.

[p] Bentivoglio, & Strada, & Dom' l'Eveſque, tom. i.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II. King of Spain.

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PHILIP ſet ſail from the Netherlands with a fleet of near ſeventy ſhips, on the 20th of Auguſt, and arrived at Loredo, in the province of Biſcay, on the 29th. He reached the port in ſafety, but no ſooner had he landed, than a dreadful ſtorm aroſe, in which a part of his fleet was ſhipwrecked; above a thouſand men periſhed, and a great number of capital paintings, ſtatues, and other curious works of art, were loſt, which Charles had been employed during forty years in collecting, in Germany, Italy, and Flanders.

1559. Philip's arrival in Spain.

PHILIP, animated by a ſpirit ſimilar to that which prompted him, after the victory of St. Quintin, to conſecrate a church to St. Laurence, thought he could not, on this occaſion, expreſs his gratitude for his preſervation, in a manner more acceptable to the Deity, than by declaring his reſolution to dedicate his life to the defence of the Catholic faith, and the extirpation of hereſy [a].

[a] Father Paul, lib. v. p. 417.

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1559. The joy of the Spaniards on this occaſion.

As the Spaniards had not for many years enjoyed the preſence of their ſovereign, his arrival diffuſed univerſal joy throughout the kingdom. His adminiſtration before his marriage with the queen of England had procured him the general eſteem, and he was now more reſpected than ever, on account of the ſignal ſucceſs with which his arms had been attended in his wars with France, and the moderation and equity which he had diſplayed in the peace of Chateau-Cambreſis.

Philip's attachment to Spain.

THE proofs of affection which he received at this time from his Spaniſh ſubjects, were the ſtronger, becauſe, although Philip ſeldom ſuffered either joy or ſorrow to appear in his looks, his diſcourſe, or behaviour, it was well known how much he was attached to his native country, more than to any of his other dominions; and it was generally believed, that he intended to fix in it his perpetual reſidence. His manners were ſuited only to thoſe of his Spaniſh ſubjects; he could not, as has been already mentioned, ſpeak with facility any other language but theirs, and he poſſeſſed not that courage and enterpriſe by which the late emperor had been determined to undertake ſo many voyages and journies to the different ſtates which were ſubject to his dominion. The Low Countries had not, in the eyes of Philip, thoſe charms by which Charles had been ſo powerfully attracted; and were particularly diſagreeable to him, on account of the reſtrictions which their free conſtitution of government impoſed on his authority.

IN the beginning of the reign of Charles, Spain was one of the freeſt ſtates in Europe; but as the nobles were humbled, and their power abridged, during the arbitrary, but vigorous adminiſtration of cardinal Ximenes; ſo the ill-concerted and unſucceſsful attempt which the commons of Caſtile made ſome years afterwards, to aſſert their rights, ſerved only to exalt the royal

prerogative, which they intended to have circumſcribed, and to reduce the Cortes to an entire dependence on the crown. And although in Arragon the people ſtill enjoyed their ancient privileges, yet there was little probability that they would ever adventure to diſpute the will of their prince; who poſſeſſed ſuch inexhauſtible reſources, and could, when he pleaſed, employ even their own countrymen the Caſtilians, to ſubdue them. But there was no circumſtance which ſerved more to increaſe Philip's partiality for Spain, and to make him prefer it to any of his other dominions for the place of his abode, than the full eſtabliſhment which the court of inquiſition had acquired in that kingdom, and the ſecurity which this inſtitution afforded him againſt the propagation of hereſy.

Of the inquiſition.

THIS tribunal, which, although it was not the parent, has been the nurſe and guardian of ignorance and ſuperſtition, in every kingdom into which it has been admitted, was introduced into Spain near a century before the preſent period, by Ferdinand and Iſabella; and was principally intended to prevent the relapſe of the Jews and Moors, who had been converted, or pretended to be converted to the faith of the church of Rome. Its juriſdiction was not confined to the Jews and Moors, but extended to all thoſe who, in their practice or opinions, differed from the eſtabliſhed church. In the united kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon, there were eighteen different inquiſitorial courts; having each of them its counſellors, termed Apoſtolic Inquiſitors; its ſecretaries, ſerjeants, and other officers; and beſides theſe, there were twenty thouſand familiars diſperſed throughout the kingdom, who acted as ſpies and informers, and were employed to apprehend all ſuſpected perſons, and to commit them for their trial, to the priſons which belonged to the inquiſition. By theſe familiars, perſons were ſeized on bare ſuſpicion; and, in contra-

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diction to the common rules of law, they were put to the torture, tried and condemned by the inquiſitors, without being confronted either with their accuſers, or with the witneſſes on whoſe evidence they were condemned. The puniſhments inflicted were more or leſs dreadful, according to the caprice and humour of the judges. The unhappy victims were either ſtrangled, or committed to the flames, or loaded with chains and ſhut up in dungeons during life. Their effects were confiſcated, and their families ſtigmatiſed with infamy [b].

THIS inſtitution was, no doubt, well calculated to produce an uniformity of religious profeſſion; but it had a tendency likewiſe to deſtroy the ſweets of ſocial life; to baniſh all freedom of thought and ſpeech; to diſturb mens minds with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions, and to produce the moſt intolerable ſlavery, by reducing perſons of all ranks of life to a ſtate of abject dependence upon prieſts; whoſe integrity, were it even greater than that of other men, as in every falſe religion it is leſs, muſt have been corrupted by the uncontroulable authority which they were allowed to exerciſe.

SUCH nearly were the ſentiments which even the Spaniards entertained of this iniquitous tribunal, at the time when it was erected [c]. But not having had experience then of its pernicious effects, and conſidering it as intended for the chaſtiſement of Jews and infidels, they only murmured and complained; till, the yoke being wreathed about their necks, the moſt ſecret murmurings became dangerous, and often fatal to thoſe who uttered them.

Effects of this inſtitution on the character of the people.

BY this tribunal, a viſible change was wrought in the temper of the people; and reſerve, diſtruſt, and jealouſy, became the diſtinguiſhing character of a Spaniard. It perpetuated and con-

[b] Mariana. lib. xxiv. c. xvi. p. 137.

[c] Mariana.

firmed

firmed the reign of ignorance and ſuperſtition. It inflamed the rage of religious bigotry; and, by the cruel ſpectacles to which, in the execution of its decrees, it familiariſed the people, it nouriſhed in them that ferocious ſpirit, which, in the Netherlands and America, they manifeſted by deeds that have fixed an everlaſting reproach on the Spaniſh name.

BUT theſe conſiderations could not be apprehended by Philip; nor, if they had been ſuggeſted to him, would they have had any influence upon his conduct. He had imbibed, in all its virulence, that ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution, which gave birth to the inquiſition. He regarded heretics as the moſt odious of criminals; and conſidered a departure in his ſubjects from the Roman ſuperſtition, as the moſt dreadful calamity that could befal them. He was therefore determined to ſupport the inquiſitors with all his power, and he encouraged them to exert themſelves in the exerciſe of their office, with the utmoſt diligence.

THE zeal and vigilance of theſe men fully correſpond to that ardour with which their ſovereign was inflamed; yet ſo irreſiſtible in this age was the ſpirit of innovation, and ſo great the force of truth, that the opinions of the reformers had found their way even into Spain, and were embraced openly by great numbers of both ſexes, among whom there were both prieſts and nuns.

EVEN the archbiſhop of Toledo, Bartlemi di Caranza y Miranda, was, from certain propoſitions contained in a catechiſm which he publiſhed, ſuſpected to have eſpouſed them. The inquiſitors informed the king of the grounds of their ſuſpicion, and deſired to receive his inſtructions for their conduct. Caranza had been univerſally reſpected as one of the moſt virtuous and learned prelates in Spain. Having, when provincial of the order of St. Dominique, been carried by Philip into England, as a perſon well

Caranza Abp. of Toledo.

qualified

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qualified to promote the re-eſtabliſhment of popery in that kingdom, he had laboured with ſo much zeal for that end, and thereby recommended himſelf ſo powerfully to the king, that in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-ſeven, Philip advanced him to the primacy. His firſt employment after attaining this high dignity was to adminiſter ſpiritual comfort to the late emperor, whom he attended in his laſt diſtreſs. But the memory of his merit and ſervices was now obliterated. Philip wrote to the inquiſitors from the Netherlands, that they muſt, without heſitation, proceed againſt the Archbiſhop as they would do againſt other delinquents; and that they ſhould not ſpare even his own ſon if they found him guilty of herefy. Caranza was accordingly thrown into priſon, and his revenues were ſequeſtrated. The propoſitions in his catechiſm, at which the inquiſitors had taken offence, were held to be of a diſputable nature eveh among the Catholics themſelves. It is probable, however, that ſentence would have been pronounced againſt him, had not the pope interpoſed, and claimed an excluſive right to decide the cauſe. Philip, anxious for the honour of the holy office, to whoſe power he was deſirous that no bounds ſhould be preſcribed, employed all his intereſt to prevail on the pontiff to drop his pretenſions. But at laſt he himſelf yielded; and Caranza, after having languiſhed in priſon for ſix years and ſeven months, was tranſported to Rome, where he was releaſed from confinement, but died in a few weeks after he was ſet at liberty [d].

An Autò-de fé at Valladolid, witneſſed by Philip.

BEFORE Philip's arrival in the city of Valladolid, an Autò-de-fé had been celebrated, in which a great number of proteſtants were committed to the flames. There were ſtill in the priſons of the inquiſition more than thirty perſons, againſt whom the ſame dreadful puniſhment had been denounced. Philip, eager

[d] Ferreras, Annis 1559 & 1565. Campana, an. 1559. Miniana, lib. v. c. xi.

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to give public proof as early as poſſible of his abhorrence of theſe innovators, deſired the inquiſitors to fix a day for their execution; and he reſolved to witneſs it. The dreadful ceremony (more repugnant to humanity, as well as to the ſpirit of the chriſtian religion, than the moſt abominable ſacrifices recorded in the annals of the Pagan world) was conducted with the greateſt ſolemnity which the inquiſitors could deviſe; and Philip, attended by his ſon Don Carlos, by his ſiſter, and by his courtiers and guards, ſat within ſight of the unhappy victims. After hearing a ſermon from the biſhop of Zamora, he roſe from his ſeat, and having drawn his ſword, as a ſignal, that with *it* he would defend the holy faith, he took an oath adminiſtered to him by the Inquiſitor-General, to ſupport the inquiſition and its miniſters, againſt all heretics and apoſtates, and to compel his ſubjects every where to yield obedience to its decrees.

AMONG the proteſtants condemned, there was a nobleman of the name of Don Carlos di Seſſa, who, when the executioners were conducting him to the ſtake, called out to the king for mercy, ſaying, "And can'ſt thou thus, O king, witneſs the tor-"ments of thy ſubjects? Save us from this cruel death; we do "not deſerve it." "No," Philip ſternly replied, "I would my-"ſelf carry wood to burn my own ſon, were he ſuch a *wretch* as "thou[e]." After which, he beheld the horrid ſpectacle that followed, with a compoſure and tranquillity that betokened the moſt unfeeling heart.

THIS dreadful ſeverity, joined with certain rigid laws, enacted to prevent the importation of Lutheran books, ſoon produced the deſired effect. After the celebration of another Autō-de-fé[f], in

[e] Io traen lenna para quemar a mi hijo, ſi fuere tan malo como vos. Cabrera, lib. v. c. iii. Miniana, l. v. c. xi.

[f] In Seville.

which

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which about fifty proteſtants ſuffered, all the reſt, if there were any who ſtill remained, either concealed their ſentiments, or made their eſcape into foreign parts [g].

PHILIP proceeded next to ſettle the civil government of the kingdom; and, according to the Spaniſh hiſtorians, he diſcovered in the choice of his miniſters, and of the governors of towns and provinces, much prudence and circumſpection; of which laſt, an hiſtorian gives the following inſtance, that beſides making diligent inquiry concerning the characters of the ſeveral candidates for office, he kept a regiſter for his own uſe, in which he recorded all the vices and defects, as well as the virtues and accompliſhments of each [h].

HE might have confined his attention to objects of this nature, and have applied himſelf wholly to the internal adminiſtration of his dominions, had he not found it neceſſary to provide againſt the hoſtile intentions with which the Turkiſh emperor, and the corſairs of Barbary, were animated againſt him.

Of the Turkiſh emperor.

THE Ottoman empire was, in the preſent period, at the ſummit of its glory, under the victorious Solyman; the greateſt and the moſt enlightened of all the Sultans. In Perſia, in Hungary, and in Africa, this heroic prince had widely extended the limits of his empire; had expelled the knights of St. John from Rhodes, which till then had been deemed impregnable; had ſtripped the Venetians of a great part of their territories; laid waſte the coaſts of Italy and Spain; and filled all Europe with admiration of his exploits, and with the terror of his name. From the time of his competition with Ferdinand in Hungary, he had regarded the princes of the houſe of Auſtria as his rivals. He had aſſiſted Henry II. of France, firſt againſt Charles, and afterwards againſt Philip; as he had formerly aſſiſted Francis againſt the emperor.

[g] Miniana, lib. v. c. xi.

[h] Ibid.

And

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And in the late war, although by ſome accident his fleet did not arrive in time to act in concert with that of France, yet it came afterwards under his admiral Piali, who, having landed his troops in Italy, and in the iſlands of Prochita and Minorca, put great numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, and carried off many hundred priſoners into ſlavery [1].

FROM an enemy ſo powerful and enterpriſing, Philip had much to apprehend. But he believed it to be inconſiſtent with the character of protector of the church, to which he aſpired, to enter into any alliance with a prince who was the declared and irreconcilable enemy of Chriſtianity; and therefore, far from propoſing any terms of accommodation, he iſſued orders for putting the coaſts of Spain and Italy into a poſture of defence, leſt Soliman ſhould find leiſure from his other occupations to renew hoſtilities.

The Corſairs of Barbary.

BUT the Spaniſh monarch had more immediate cauſe of inquietude from the corſairs on the coaſt of Africa, an enemy much more formidable than before, by the aſſiſtance which Soliman had afforded them ever ſince they acknowledged him for their ſovereign. They conſiſted of Turks, Arabs, Negroes, and Moors; the laſt of whom were partly natives, and partly ſuch as had been expelled from Spain in the time of Ferdinand and Iſabella. They were all men of barbarous manners, inflamed with the moſt bigoted zeal for the Mahometan religion, open foes to almoſt every Chriſtian power, and animated with a peculiar hatred againſt the Spaniards, who had often attacked them in their ſtrong holds, and had long treated their brother Mahometans, the Moreſcoes in Spain, with inhumanity. They had often taken full revenge for theſe injuries, under the celebrated brothers, Horuc and Hay-

[1] Ferreras, ann. 1558.

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radin Barbaroſſas. Their principal fleet was now commanded by another corſair, of the name of Dragut, the Barbaroſſa of his age, and not inferior to either of the two brothers in thoſe qualifications by which they were ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed.

Dragut.

BORN in a little village in Natolia, oppoſite to the iſle of Rhodes, and ſprung, like the Barbaroſſas, from the meaneſt parents, Dragut had, in his youth, enliſted himſelf on board a Turkiſh galley, and had ſerved there for ſome years as a common ſailor. In that ſtation he gave conſpicuous proofs of his capacity. He ſeemed however to be governed by a paſſion extremely different from that ambition which is the ordinary attendant upon genius, and to have no other end in view than to enrich himſelf. But as ſoon as he had acquired a certain ſum of money, he purchaſed a galley of his own, and began the adventurous occupation of a corſair, in which he became remarkable for his ſkill in navigation, his knowledge of the ſeas, his intrepidity, and enterpriſe. His character did not remain long unknown to Hayradin Barbaroſſa, who was at that time high admiral of the Turkiſh fleet. Barbaroſſa gladly received Dragut into his ſervice, and having made him his lieutenant, he gave him the command of twelve of his ſhips of war. With this fleet Dragut did infinite miſchief to all the European ſtates who traded in the Mediterranean, the French only excepted, whoſe monarchs were in alliance with the Turkiſh emperor. He ſuffered no ſeaſon to paſs unemployed. Scarcely a ſingle Spaniſh or Italian ſhip eſcaped him; and when he failed in taking a ſufficient number of prizes, he commonly made ſome ſudden deſcent on the coaſts of Spain or Italy, plundering the country, and carrying off great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity. In theſe deſcents he was generally fortunate; but in the year 1541, having landed his men in a creek in Corſica, they were ſcattered along the coaſt, and employed in collecting

collecting their booty, when Juanetin Doria, the brave nephew of the illuſtrious Andrew Doria, came upon him with a ſuperior force, took nine of his ſhips, and compelled him to ſurrender. When he was carried on board the admiral's galley, he could not reſtrain his indignation, but exclaimed, "And am I then doomed "to be thus loaded with fetters by a beardleſs youth?" a ſaying which occaſioned his meeting with harder uſage than he would otherwiſe have received. Both Barbaroſſa and Solyman intereſted themſelves in his behalf, and made tempting offers to the Genoeſe for his ranſom. Notwithſtanding which they detained him four years in captivity; nor could they be perſuaded to ſet him at liberty till Barbaroſſa, with a hundred gallies under his command, appeared before their town, and threatened to lay it in aſhes, if he were not inſtantly releaſed. The Genoeſe found it neceſſary to comply with this requeſt; and Dragut, who was immediately afterwards furniſhed with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips by Barbaroſſa, and was now inflamed with redoubled hatred againſt all who bore the name of Chriſtians, reſumed his former occupation, and ſought after opportunities, with unceaſing ardor, to wreck his vengeance upon his enemies. Beſides captures which he made at ſea, he ſacked and pillaged, year after year, innumerable villages and towns in Italy and the adjacent iſles. Having been diſpoſſeſſed by Doria of his ſtrong ſea-port of Mohedia on the coaſt of Barbary, he had ample revenge afterwards on that gallant ſeaman, in an engagement off Naples, in which he took ſix of his ſhips, with a great number of troops on board, and obliged Doria himſelf, and the reſt of the fleet, to fly before him. In the year immediately following he ſubdued almoſt the whole iſland of Corſica, and delivered it into the hands of the French. After this, having made himſelf maſter of Tripoli, he fortified that place in the ſtrongeſt manner. From Tripoli he iſſued forth as often as the ſeaſon

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would permit; and after Philip's acceſſion, and even after peace was concluded between France and Spain, he continued to practiſe as formerly his depredations upon the coaſts of Sicily, Naples, and other ſtates which belonged to the Spaniſh monarchy.

Expedition againſt Tripoli and the iſle of Gerba.

Of theſe hoſtilities Philip had received particular information before he left the Netherlands, and had been earneſtly exhorted by the Sieur de la Valette, grand-maſter of the knights of Malta, and the duke de Medina Cœli, governor of Sicily, to think ſeriouſly of putting an end to the innumerable miſchiefs to which his ſubjects were expoſed from this active corſair, by ſending ſuch a force againſt him as might compel him to abandon his retreat. Philip readily conſented to this requeſt; and as he was informed by la Valette, that Dragut himſelf was abſent at that time from Tripoli, carrying on an inland war againſt one of the kings in Barbary, he ſent immediate orders to the duke de Medina Cœli, Doria, and others, to haſten forward the preparations neceſſary for the intended enterpriſe. The pope and moſt of the other princes in Italy contributed their aſſiſtance, and a fleet was aſſembled conſiſting of more than a hundred ſhips, having 14,000 ſoldiers on board. This armament, of which the duke de Medina Cœli had the chief command, ſet ſail from Meſſina in the end of October 1559, and paſſed over to Syracuſe. There it was detained by contrary winds for ſeveral weeks, and during that time a diſeaſe, occaſioned by unwholeſome proviſions, carried off between three and four thouſand of the troops. Medina Cœli however proceeded in his voyage, ſtill hoping that he had force ſufficient to enſure ſucceſs; and it is probable that he would not have been diſappointed had he advanced directly and laid ſiege to Tripoli. But he thought it would facilitate the reduction of that place, to make himſelf maſter before-hand of the iſle of Gerba, which lies a few miles from Tripoli, and was held by a Mooriſh

Mooriſh governor, attached to the intereſt of Dragut. This iſland was ſubdued with little difficulty; and a caſtle which had been erected upon it was, after a feeble reſiſtance, abandoned by the Moors, whoſe commander ſwore allegiance upon the Alcoran to the king of Spain. 1559.

IT was the opinion of ſome of the principal officers that this caſtle ſhould be immediately deſtroyed, and that the fleet ſhould proceed to Tripoli without delay. But the duke was unfortunately of a different opinion, and reſolved not only to preſerve the caſtle, but to ſtrengthen and enlarge it. In this prepoſterous undertaking a great deal of time was loſt. Dragut had returned with his army from his inland expedition; and he had leiſure not only to provide for the ſecurity of the town, but to ſend notice to the Grand Seignior of the operations of the Chriſtian fleet, which he repreſented might be attacked with great advantage in its preſent ſituation, while the commander was off his guard, and moſt of the forces were on ſhore.

Deſtruction of the Spaniſh fleet by the Turks.

SOLYMAN embraced without heſitation the tempting opportunity which was thus preſented to him. He fitted out, with the utmoſt expedition, a fleet of ſeventy-four gallies, put a hundred Janiſſaries, beſides other ſoldiers, on board each of them, and gave the command to his admiral Piali, with orders to proceed in his voyage as faſt as poſſible. The Spaniards were informed of his approach by a Malteſe frigate, and were thrown into great perplexity. A council of war was immediately held. Some officers were for waiting till the enemy ſhould arrive, and adviſed Medina to give them battle. Others, among whom was the younger Doria[k], whoſe courage was unqueſtionable, were of opinion, that conſidering the ſickly condition of the troops, and the great diminution

[k] The elder Doria was prevented from taking a part in this expedition by the infirmities of old age.

which

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which they had undergone, they could not contend with ſo powerful an enemy without the utmoſt danger of a total overthrow, and therefore that they ought immediately to retire, and conduct the fleet to a place of ſafety. The duke de Medina Cœli, a man of no experience in maritime affairs, and utterly unqualified for the charge which he had undertaken, was at a loſs to determine to which of the two meaſures propoſed he ſhould give the preference. There was a neceſſity for embracing inſtantly either the one or the other. Yet he balanced between them for ſome days, and ſtill continued to make the troops work in completing the fortifications of the caſtle, till intelligence was brought him that the enemy were at hand, and ſteering directly towards the iſland.

THERE was no time now to put the fleet into a poſture of defence. Both the mariners and ſoldiers were overwhelmed with terror; and each crew, without waiting for the word of command, made haſte, with oars and ſails, to eſcape from the impending danger. Several ſhips foundered among the flats and ſhallows. Others were driven back by the wind, or by the enemy, and wrecked upon the iſland. Some eſcaped, and particularly thoſe which belonged to the order of St. John, through their ſuperior acquaintance with the coaſt. Above thirty were taken by the Turks; about one thouſand men were killed or drowned, and five thouſand taken priſoners. Medina Cœli, with Doria and ſome other principal officers, paſſed in the night through the middle of the enemy's fleet, and arrived ſafe at Malta; having, before his departure, committed the charge of the fort of Gerba to Don Alvaro de Sandé, to whom he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſpeedy aſſiſtance and relief.

The ſiege of the fort of Gerba by the Turks.

THIS valiant Spaniard had very little reaſon to truſt to theſe aſſurances, and could not expect to be able to hold out long

long againſt ſo great a force as he knew would be employed againſt him; eſpecially as he was but indifferently furniſhed with proviſions, and was much more likely to find enemies than friends in the natives of the iſland. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, he readily undertook the arduous taſk aſſigned him; and having got his garriſon augmented by the crews of thoſe ſhips which, in attempting to make their eſcape, had been driven back upon the coaſt, he prepared with great alacrity for a vigorous defence. 1559.

PIALI loſt no time after his victory, but immediately landed his troops and began the ſiege. He was furniſhed with artillery by Dragut, who brought it himſelf, together with ſome freſh forces, from Tripoli. About twelve thouſand Turks, beſides the iſlanders and other Moors, were employed in the ſiege. In their firſt approaches many of them were killed. But ſoon after their battery had been unmaſked, a great part of the wall of the fort was laid in ruins. The beſieged in the mean time began to ſuffer greatly from the heat of the ſeaſon, and from the ſcarcity and unwholeſomeneſs of the water and proviſions. Great numbers died, and many, grown impatient under the hardſhips to which they were expoſed, deſerted to the enemy. By theſe men Piali was informed of the diſtreſſed condition of the garriſon; and he invited them to ſurrender, and promiſed to ſpare their lives. Don Alvaro rejected this offer with diſdain, and ſtill perſiſted in the defence. But at length, finding that his ſtock of proviſions was almoſt ſpent, and having deſpaired of the relief which had been promiſed by Medina, he called together the garriſon, which amounted now only to one thouſand men, and having reminded them of the glory which they had acquired, and informed them that they had neither bread to ſupport their bodies, nor numbers to defend the fort any longer, he deſired them to reſolve, whether they would give themſelves up to the enemy, or periſh by famine. End of July 1560.

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themſelves up tamely to be the ſlaves of their barbarous enemy, or imitate the example which he would ſet them, and die fighting bravely for the honour of their religion and their country. The ſoldiers called out with one voice, "That they choſe death rather "than ſlavery; and were ready to follow whereſoever he ſhould "lead them." He then deſired they would refreſh themſelves with ſuch victuals as ſtill remained, and hold themſelves in readineſs to leave the fort about the middle of the night.

AT that time they ſet out, by the gate which looked towards the ſea, and having paſſed a triple rampart, which had been thrown up to prevent their ſallies, they made dreadful havock among the Turks, and had almoſt reached the general's tent, when they were put to a ſtand by the Janiſſaries. They fought long and deſperately; but at laſt, the whole Turkiſh camp being up in arms, they were overpowered by numbers, and almoſt all of them were ſlain. Alvaro, with two officers who had kept near him, forced his way through the thickeſt part of the enemy, till he reached the ſhore, and got on board a Spaniſh ſhip which had been ſtranded. There he was ſtanding at day-break, with his target in one hand and his ſword in the other, ſurrounded by the Turkiſh ſoldiers, who would have quickly buried him under their darts, if their officers, who highly reſpected his heroic valour, had not reſtrained them. Having been urged by a Genoeſe renegado to lay down his arms, and aſſured of receiving a treatment ſuitable to his rank and merit, he at laſt conſented to ſurrender himſelf to Piali[1].

[1] He was carried to Conſtantinople with the other priſoners, and was afterwards ſet at liberty, by an article in a treaty of peace between the Sultan and the emperor of Germany.

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SUCH was the concluſion of this unfortunate enterpriſe; the failure of which, and all the calamities which enſued, ſeem to have been owing principally to the weakneſs, obſtinacy, and inexperience of the commander in chief; yet we do not find that Philip ever expreſſed any diſſatisfaction with his conduct. He either viewed it in a different light from that in which it has been repreſented by the contemporary hiſtorians; or he conſidered, that it would have been a tacit acknowledgment of his own want of diſcernment, to accuſe, of imprudence or incapacity, a perſon whom he had judged deſerving of ſo great a truſt. Inſtead of this, he applied himſelf to provide againſt the effects which he had reaſon to dread from the ſucceſs of the Turkiſh arms. He could hardly doubt that Piali would purſue his victory, and make a deſcent on the coaſts of Spain or Italy.

THE inhabitants were every-where agitated with the moſt alarming apprehenſions. Watch-towers were raiſed along the coaſt; and the fleet, which had lately ſuffered ſo much, was repaired with the utmoſt diligence. But theſe preparations, although they were afterwards found uſeful, were not at preſent neceſſary. Solyman having other objects of ambition which engroſſed his attention, recalled his fleet to Conſtantinople, and thus delivered the Italians and Spaniards from their preſent fears [m].

The ſiege of Oran and Maſarquivir.

PHILIP ſoon afterwards received intelligence that Haſcem, ſon of the celebrated Barbaroſſa, and viceroy of Algiers under Solyman, had formed a deſign upon Oran and Maſarquivir, two ſtrong forts on the coaſt of Barbary, which had been in the poſſeſſion of Spain ſince the year one thouſand five hundred and nine, when they were ſubdued by cardinal Ximenes. In order to fruſtrate this deſign, a fleet of twenty-four gallies had been ordered to ſail to Oran, for the reinforcement of the garriſon; but

[m] Cabrera, lib. v. c. v. viii. xii. xi i. Miniana, lib. v. c. xii.

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this fleet had been overtaken in the middle of its courſe by a dreadful ſtorm, in which two and twenty of the ſhips were loſt.

By this accident Haſcem was encouraged to proceed in his projected enterpriſe. Having perſuaded ſeveral of the Mahometan princes in Barbary to aſſiſt him with their troops, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Oran early in the ſpring, with a fleet of more than thirty ſhips, and an army of an hundred thouſand men. Of the two places which he intended to attack, only Maſarquivir is a ſea-port, and Oran lies at the diſtance of near a league from it. With ſo great an army he was enabled to block up both places at once; but he began his operations with the ſiege of Maſarquivir, which, though of greater importance by reaſon of its ſituation, was not ſo ſtrongly fortified.

The count de Alcaudeté, the Spaniſh governor, who had foreſeen the approaching ſtorm, had provided to the utmoſt of his power for the ſecurity of the places committed to his care; and both he and his brother Don Martin de Cordova, to whom he committed the chief command in Maſarquivir, were determined to hold out to the laſt extremity. Many bloody rencounters paſſed between the contending parties, in the ſallies which Alcaudeté made from Oran; and in theſe the Spaniards had generally the advantage. Don Martin, and the troops under his command, gave, if poſſible, ſtill ſtronger proofs of intrepidity in their defence of Maſarquivir. The walls were laid in ruins by the enemy's artillery. Haſcem made eleven different aſſaults, and his ſtandard was raiſed again and again upon the ruins of the walls; yet he was finally repulſed, and obliged, notwithſtanding his numbers, to yield to the unconquerable obſtinacy of the Spaniards. Theſe brave men, however, were now ſenſible, that, from the want of proviſions, they muſt ere long either throw away their lives, or ſubmit

mit to that odious ſlavery to which they knew that the implacable hatred of their ungenerous enemy had doomed them.

1559. The ſiege of Oran raiſed by the Spaniards.

PHILIP was not ignorant of the diſtreſs to which they were reduced; and he had exerted himſelf with great activity in making preparations for their relief. But as Maſarquivir was blocked up by ſea as well as by land, it was neceſſary that the ſupplies which he had provided ſhould be accompanied with a fleet ſuperior to that of the enemy. Such a fleet he at laſt collected from Italy and the ſea-ports in Spain, and gave the command of it to Don Francis de Mendoza, with inſtructions to ſail for Maſarquivir with the utmoſt expedition. Mendoza happily arrived in time. Having come unexpectedly upon Haſcem's fleet, he took nine ſhips, and put the reſt to flight; and Haſcem himſelf, who had been employed for ſome days in preparing for a new aſſault, perceiving the danger to which he was expoſed from the Spaniſh fleet on the one hand, and the garriſons in Oran and Maſarquivir on the other, raiſed the ſiege precipitately, after it had laſted three months; and marched off with all his forces to Algiers. The Spaniards purſued for ſeveral miles; but finding they were unable to overtake him, they returned; and the fleet, after reinforcing the garriſons of Oran and Maſarquivir, ſet ſail for Spain, where they were received with great rejoicing. The count de Alcaudeté was ſoon after made viceroy of Navarre; Don Martin received diſtinguiſhed marks of the royal favour; and all the officers, and even the private ſoldiers, were rewarded in proportion to their rank and merit [n].

The reduction of Penon de Velez by the Spaniards.

DURING the abſence of the fleet, the trade of Spain had ſuſtained conſiderable prejudice from the depredations of a celebrated corſair, of the name of Cara Muſtapha, who, with a ſquadron of ſix or ſeven ſhips, traverſed the Mediterranean with un-

[n] Cabrera, lib. vi. Herrera Hiſt. Gen. del Mondo, lib. v. c. iii. and iv.

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wearied activity, and made innumerable captures. His retreat was a fort on the African coaſt, called Penon de Velez, which, in thoſe days, before the invention of bombs, was reckoned almoſt impregnable. It is ſituated on a ſteep and rugged rock, and is inacceſſible, except by a narrow path, cut out in the rock itſelf; which is ſeparated from the continent by a channel, capable of containing about a dozen of thoſe ſhips which were uſually employed in cruiſing. This rock was fortified, both above and below, with a wall, flanked with baſtions, and mounted with cannon; and afforded a conſtant ſhelter and protection to the corſairs, when purſued. From its ſituation near the Straits, theſe corſairs could annoy the Chriſtians, while they themſelves were expoſed to very little danger; and it was become an object of the moſt ſerious concern to all the Chriſtian powers who traded in the Mediterranean, to wreſt it from them.

In conſequence of a report which gained credit, that Solyman intended this year to make an attack either on Spain or Italy, Philip had greatly augmented his naval force; but when he found that either there had been no ground for this report, or that the Sultan had changed his deſign, he thought that he could not employ his fleet more uſefully than by attempting to reduce Pennon de Velez, which had been long an object of much dread to his ſubjects.

Not ſatisfied with his own numerous fleet, he ſolicited aſſiſtance from Portugal, from the knights of Malta, and from his allies in Italy; nor did he permit them to ſet ſail from Malaga, the place of rendezvous, till he had collected above ninety gallies, beſides ſixty ſhips of a ſmaller ſize, with no leſs than thirteen thouſand ſoldiers on board. The providing of ſo great a force was not merely an effect of that extraordinary caution with which Philip commonly entered upon any military enterpriſe; and ſuch a number

number of troops could not be employed in beſieging a place of ſuch ſmall extent as Pennon de Velez; but, as the Moors in the country adjacent, were deeply intereſted in the preſervation of the fort, on account of the immenſe quantities of commodities of all kinds, and the number of Chriſtian ſlaves which were daily ſold to them by the corſairs, there was reaſon to apprehend that they would conſider the cauſe of theſe pirates as their own, and give all the oppoſition in their power to the Spaniards, in the operations of the ſiege.

AGREEABLY to this perſuaſion, the allies no ſooner arrived upon the coaſt, than great numbers of theſe barbarians appeared among the hills, by the foot of which the army were obliged to paſs in their way to the fort. But theſe tumultuary troops were not able to prevent the Spaniards from landing; nor, although they gave them ſome annoyance on their march, could they obſtruct the operations of ſo formidable a body of regular forces. Still, however, it was the opinion of ſeveral of the allies, that after all that could be done to reduce a fort of ſo ſingular a conſtruction, they wouldin the iſſue find it neceſſary to abandon their attempt. This would probably have happened, if Muſtapha himſelf had been preſent. But, in order to ſave his ſhips from falling a prey to the enemy, he had left the place ſome time before, and given the command of it to a renegado, of the name of Ferret, with two hundred Turks under him, and ammunition and proviſions ſufficient to ſerve for a much longer time than the blockade was likely to continue.

HE believed that the Spaniards would ſoon perceive the folly of their undertaking; and was therefore employed in his uſual practice of cruiſing, with very little concern about the fate of his retreat. But he had been deceived in his opinion of thoſe to whom he had committed a charge of ſo great importance. Both the

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the governor and garriſon were intimidated by the ſight of that powerful fleet and army which now encompaſſed them. No ſooner were ſome of their guns diſmounted by a Spaniſh battery, and a part of the wall demoliſhed, than they were ſtruck with the moſt violent panic, and the governor, and moſt of the garriſon, made their eſcape to the continent in the middle of the night, by ſwimming. Such of them only remained as could not ſwim; and by theſe men the fort was delivered to the Spaniards.

THERE was much good fortune and little glory in this valuable conqueſt; but the joy which it excited over all the ſouthern coaſt of Spain was inexpreſſible; and it was the more complete, as well as the more generally diffuſed, becauſe only a very ſmall number had been killed or wounded in their rencounters with the Moors. Don Garcia de Toledo, the commander in chief, was, ſoon after his return, rewarded by Philip, with the vice-royalty of Sicily [o].

[o] Cabrera, lib. vi. c. xvii. Ferreras, part xiv. Vertot's Hiſt. of the Knights of Malta.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

PHILIP II. King of Spain.

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DURING the courſe of thoſe military operations which have been deſcribed, Philip beheld with much anxiety the rapid progreſs of hereſy in almoſt every ſtate in Europe except Spain; and, in order to obſtruct it, he employed all his influence to procure the convocation of a general council of the church.

The perſecution of the Proteſtants.

IN the firſt years of the reformation, the bigotry of thoſe who adhered to the ancient ſuperſtition, ſuffered them not to think of any other means of extirpating the opinions of the proteſtants, but perſecution; which was exerciſed againſt them with the ſame unrelenting ſeverity, as if they had been guilty of the moſt atrocious crimes. But it ſoon appeared how inadequate this barbarous procedure was to the purpoſe which the Romaniſts intended. Thoſe bloody edicts which were publiſhed, thoſe fires which were lighted up, and that variety of torments which prieſts and inquiſitors invented with ingenious cruelty, ſerved in reality to propagate

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propagate the doctrines againſt which they were employed, and contributed to inflame, rather than extinguiſh, that ardent zeal with which the proteſtants were animated. Being firmly perſuaded, that the cauſe which they maintained, was the cauſe of God and truth, and that their perſeverance would be rewarded with a happy immortality, they courted their puniſhments inſtead of avoiding them; and in bearing them, they diſplayed a degree of fortitude and patience, which, by exciting admiration in the beholders, produced innumerable proſelytes to the faith for which they ſuffered.

Progreſs of the Reformation.

SEVERAL princes had been converted to that faith. In ſome ſtates the proteſtants had become more numerous and powerful than their opponents; and in others, their opinions ſo generally prevailed, that the catholic princes found it no longer poſſible to extirpate them, without depriving themſelves of great multitudes of their moſt induſtrious ſubjects, on whom the wealth and importance of their ſtates depended. The time when perſecution might have proved effectual was paſt, and the princes came at length to perceive the neceſſity of having recourſe to ſome more gentle means than had been hitherto employed. They were at the ſame time ſenſible, notwithſtanding their prejudices againſt the reformers, that ſome reformation was extremely neceſſary; they had long borne with great impatience the numberleſs encroachments of the court of Rome; and were convinced, that if ſome abuſes were removed, it would not be impracticable to perſuade the proteſtants to return into the boſom of the church.

A general council deſired by the Catholic princes.

A GENERAL council appeared to be the only expedient by which this important end could be obtained; and the late emperor Charles had taken infinite pains to procure the convocation of that aſſembly. In former times the councils of the church had been convened by the emperors themſelves; but, in the time of Charles,

the power of calling them was, by all true catholics, conſidered as the peculiar prerogative of the popes; who dreaded, that ſuch aſſemblies might derogate from their uſurped authority, and were therefore inclined, if poſſible, to prevent them from being held. With the timid Clement, Charles employed all his art and influence to procure a council, but in vain. Paul the Third was no leſs averſe to this meaſure than Clement; but the emperor being ſeconded by almoſt all the catholic princes in Europe, Paul yielded to their importunities, and ſummoned a council to meet in Trent. From this place it was afterwards tranſlated to Bologna. After the death of Paul it was again aſſembled in Trent in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-one, and continued to be held there till the year following; when it was prorogued for two years, upon war being declared againſt the emperor, by the elector of Saxony.

In the ſeſſions which were held under Paul, that fundamental tenet of the reformers, by which the writings of the evangeliſts and apoſtles are held to be the only rule of the Chriſtian faith, was condemned; and equal authority was aſcribed to the books termed Apocryphal, and to the oral traditions of the church.

From the manner in which the deliberations of this aſſembly were conducted; from the nature of its deciſions, and from the blind attachment of a great majority of its members to the court of Rome, there was little ground to hope for the attainment of thoſe ends for which the calling of it had been ſo earneſtly deſired. But no other expedient could be deviſed, which the catholics thought ſo likely to ſtop the progreſs of hereſy; and therefore, as ſoon as the war between France and Spain was concluded, the ſeveral catholic princes began to think ſeriouſly of the reſtoration of the council.

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1560.

The ſtate of Europe.

THE ſtate of Europe at that time ſeemed more than ever to require the application of ſome immediate remedy. The power and number of the proteſtants were every day becoming more and more conſiderable. Both England and Scotland had diſclaimed allegiance to the ſee of Rome, and new-modelled their religion. In the Netherlands the reformers had greatly multiplied of late, notwithſtanding the moſt dreadful cruelties had been exerciſed againſt them; and in France, where every province was involved in the moſt terrible combuſtion, there was ground to apprehend, that they would ſoon become too powerful for the catholics, and be able to wreſt from them the reins of government. The new opinions had penetrated even into Italy, and had been embraced by a conſiderable number of perſons both in Naples and Savoy. From the former of theſe States they were extirpated by the unrelenting ſeverity of Philip; who iſſued orders to his viceroy to put all heretics to death without mercy, and even to purſue with fire and ſword a remnant of them who had fled from Coſenza, and were living quietly among the mountains[a].

The pope's dread of national ſynods in Savoy and in France.

BUT the duke of Savoy, unwilling to deprive himſelf of ſo great a number of uſeful ſubjects as had been converted to the proteſtant faith, was inclined to attempt to enlighten and convince them; and with this view he deſired the pope's permiſſion to hold a colloquy of the principal eccleſiaſtics in his dominions, on the ſubject of religion. Pius was about the ſame time informed, that in France a reſolution had been embraced to have recourſe to the ſame expedient. He believed that no meaſure could be deviſed more likely to prove fatal to that excluſive prerogative which he claimed, of judging in matters of religion. He dreaded that the example of France and Savoy would be quickly followed by other States, and the decrees of provincial

[a] Paul, lib. v.

ſynods

ſynods ſubſtituted in the place of thoſe of the Holy See. It highly concerned him, therefore, to prevent this meaſure (ſo pernicious to his authority) from taking place. Nor did he find much difficulty in diſſuading the duke of Savoy from adoping it. "If the heretics," ſaid he to the duke's ambaſſador, "ſtand in need of inſtruction, I will ſend divines and a legate, by whom they may be both inſtructed and abſolved. But your maſter will find, that they will lend a deaf ear to all the inſtructions that can be given them, and will put no other interpretation upon his conduct, but that he wants power to compel them to ſubmit. No good effect was ever produced by that lenity which he inclines to exerciſe; but from experience he may learn, that the ſooner he ſhall execute juſtice on theſe men, and make uſe of force to reduce them, the more certain will be his ſucceſs; and if he will comply with the counſel which I offer, he ſhall receive from me ſuch aſſiſtance as will enable him to carry it into execution."

THE duke, who was ſincerely attached to the Romiſh faith, and cloſely connected with Philip, unfortunately complied with this violent counſel, and engaged in a bloody war with his proteſtant ſubjects, of which he had afterwards the greateſt reaſon to repent [b].

His averſion to the calling of a council.

THE pope met with much more difficulty in preventing a national ſynod in France, than in Savoy; and was obliged to promiſe, that he ſhould call a general council without delay. Pius had, before his promotion, taken an oath to this purpoſe, as all the other caadinals had likewiſe done, before they proceeded to his election. But no ſooner had he aſcended the papal throne, than he adopted the ſentiments of his predeceſſors; and ſhewed that he entertained the ſame averſion to this aſſembly which *they*

[b] He found it neceſſary at laſt to grant them the free exerciſe of their religion, after having been worſted by them in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes among the mountains, and ſuffering a total overthrow in a pitched battle, in which he loſt 7000 of his troops. Paul, lib. v.

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had ſo uniformly manifeſted. He remembered the motives which had determined Paul the Third to diſſolve it, under the colour of a tranſlation to Bologna. He reflected on the danger to which Julius had been expoſed, and from which his good fortune and the war of Germany had delivered him; and he conſidered, that as there was now no prince ſo powerful as Charles, by whom the prelates could be overawed, they would probably aſſume a bolder tone in the council, and attempt to advance their own prerogatives on the ruins of the papacy.

He finds it neceſſary to conſent to it.

FOR theſe reaſons he would gladly have eluded the performance of his oath. But ſo great was his dread of the fatal conſequences which might ariſe from a national ſynod in France, and ſo earneſt the importunity of Philip, of the emperor, and other catholic princes, that he at laſt thought it neceſſary to comply with their requeſt; reſolving to employ all his attention in providing againſt the dangers to which his authority would be thereby expoſed.

AFTER many delays, which Pius knew well how to interpoſe, the bull of convocation, ſummoning the council to meet in Trent at Eaſter, was publiſhed in the conſiſtory on the twenty-ninth of September one thouſand five hundred and ſixty; and nuncios were diſpatched to give intimation of it to all the Chriſtian powers.

The bull of convocation.

THE pope and cardinals were greatly at a loſs to determine whether the council ſhould be mentioned in the bull as a new one, or as a continuation of that which had been held under Paul and Julius. The deciſion of this point, ſeemingly of ſmall importance, was rendered difficult by the conſequences which it involved. For if the continuation were declared, then all thoſe decrees of the former ſeſſions, which were levelled againſt the proteſtants, would be held ſacred, and receive the ſanction of the council that was about to be convened. The

proteſtants

proteſtants would conſider themſelves as already condemned, and pay no regard to the bull of convocation. Whereas, if in this bull the aſſembly to be ſummoned were denominated a new council, they might expect that all the points in controverſy would be diſcuſſed anew, and conſequently might be perſuaded to ſend deputies to the council, and to acknowledge its authority.

In this the emperor and the queen mother and miniſters of France were deeply intereſted; and they urged with great earneſtneſs, that in the bull no mention ſhould be made of the former ſeſſions, and no occaſion given the proteſtants to ſuſpect that any reſtriction would be laid upon the proceedings of the council. Philip was governed by views and ſentiments of a very different nature. His deteſtation of the proteſtants prevented him from reliſhing any other method of dealing with them, but that of force. He was utterly averſe to making any conceſſions to reconcile them; and he deſired the celebration of the council, not ſo much in order to recover thoſe who had already revolted from the church, as either to prevent others from following their example, or, as Pius afterwards ſuſpected, to increaſe the power of the biſhops and princes, by abridging the juriſdiction of the pope; to whoſe exorbitant pretenſions Philip was in reality adverſe, notwithſtanding that devoted attachment to the Holy See which he affected, in order to promote his ambitious deſigns. With theſe views and ſentiments, Philip did not deſire that the proteſtants ſhould come to the council. He believed that their preſence would ſerve only to perplex and retard its deliberations. He apprehended, that to ſuffer the decrees of the former ſeſſions to be again diſcuſſed, would contribute to invalidate the authority of the council itſelf: and for this reaſon he thought it neceſſary that the intended meeting ſhould be declared a continuation of the council which had formerly been prorogued.

In

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In this matter Philip's ſentiments were entirely conformable to thoſe of the pope; but Pius durſt not, on this occaſion, run the riſque of giving offence either to the emperor or to the court of France; and therefore, after long deliberation, he couched the bull of convocation in ſuch ambiguous expreſſions, as might be interpreted to ſignify either a new council, or a continuation of the former. This expedient had, in ſome degree, the effect intended. Although neither of the parties was entirely ſatisfied, yet neither of them was ſo much diſguſted as either the one or the other would have been, if the terms had been explicit: and the bull was at length received by the emperor and the French king, as well as by Philip, and the other catholic princes; who all gave orders to the Eccleſiaſtics in their dominions to repair to Trent at the time appointed.

The proteſtants refuſe to attend the council.

In the bull, only biſhops, abbots, and others entitled to vote by the rules and ancient practice of the church, were ſummoned to attend. But an invitation was carried to the ſeveral proteſtant powers, by two nuncios, Martinengo and Commendone.

Their reaſons.

The proteſtant princes in Germany were, on this occaſion, aſſembled at Naumburgh, in Upper Saxony; and to that place the emperor ſent three ambaſſadors, to ſecond the nuncios in their invitation. To the Imperial ambaſſadors, the princes replied in terms expreſſive of their reſpect for Ferdinand. They thanked him for the ſolicitude which he diſcovered in their behalf; and ſaid, that nothing would be more agreeable to them than a general council, provided it were calculated to heal the diviſions of the church. But no ſuch deſirable effect, they thought, could be expected from the council to which they were now invited; which was called by one whoſe authority they could not acknowledge; and in which (as appeared from the bull of convocation) only thoſe were to have deciſive voices,

voices, who had ſworn allegiance to the pope, and the ſee of Rome.

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THE nuncios however were brought in, and briefs were delivered by them from the pope to each of the princes; but theſe briefs were on the next day returned unopened, with the following declaration: "That as they did not acknowledge any juriſdiction in the biſhop of Rome, there was no reaſon why they ſhould explain to him their ſentiments of the council, which they had already done to the emperor[c]."

FROM Naumburg the nuncios ſet out for England and Denmark; but they were obliged to ſtop ſhort, Martinengo in the Low Countries, and Commendone at Lubec; the latter having been forbid to proceed by Frederic, and the former by Elizabeth, both of whom had reſolved to give no encouragement to the intended council.

The Council meets at Trent, and is governed by the pope and his legates.

THE opinion which the proteſtants entertained of the ſiniſter intentions of the pope was fully juſtified by the event. In the very firſt decree of the firſt ſeſſion, when many of the prelates were not yet arrived, his legates, who preſided in this aſſembly, procured it to be enacted, that they only ſhould propoſe the ſeveral queſtions to be diſcuſſed; and thus they made at once effectual proviſion againſt all attempts to correct any of the numberleſs abuſes in the court of Rome, for remedying which the meeting of the council had been deſired. Againſt this decree Philip and the other princes remonſtrated in the moſt importunate manner, and employed their intereſt, both with the pope and in the council, to procure the repeal of it. But all their endeavours were ineffectual. Their ſolicitude on this head ſerved only to confirm Pius in his ſuſpicions of their having formed a deſign to encroach

[c] Paul, lib. v.

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on his authority. He eluded their applications with conſummate artifice, and ſent orders to the legates to make all the oppoſition in their power to any propoſal which might be made for annulling the decree.

Vain attempts to abridge the power of the pope.

THIS did not prevent ſeveral of the prelates from endeavouring to perſuade the council to eſtabliſh certain points, ſuch as the divine inſtitution and the reſidency of biſhops, which would have ſtruck deep at the root of the papal power. The pope, from whom the legates received inſtructions on every difficult emergency, was kept in perpetual anxiety; and he ſometimes thought of ſuddenly diſſolving an aſſembly which he found ſo difficult to keep within the bounds that he preſcribed. But, by unremitted vigilance and attention, by threatening ſome prelates with his diſpleaſure, by flattering others, and heaping promiſes upon them of advancement in the church; and above all, by means of the great number of Italian biſhops [d], who depended entirely on his favour, he ſecured, in every queſtion, a majority of voices; and not only prevented any deciſion from being paſſed that might be detrimental to his authority, but procured the ratification of many of theſe eccleſiaſtical uſurpations which the princes, who had been ſo ſolicitous for the convocation of the council, had expected would have been aboliſhed and condemned. Theſe princes were greatly diſappointed and chagrined. Their ambaſſadors, as well as the prelates, complained, that the council, far from enjoying freedom, were fettered in all their deliberations by the ſecret orders which were daily ſent from Rome: and on this head, remonſtrances were made again and again to the pope himſelf, who ſometimes vouchſafed a ſoft, evaſive reply; and at other times, appearing to be greatly offended, aſſerted that the council was at

[d] Many of them were ſo poor, that he was obliged to defray the expences of their attendance.

perfect

perfect liberty; and insinuated, that the true source of all the discontent on this head was, that the ambassadors of the princes had not the power of dictating the decrees. 1560.

WHATEVER ground there was for this insinuation, the deliberations of the council were conducted in the same manner as before, till at length Pius, grown impatient under the perpetual attention and expence which it required from him, sent orders to his legates to bring it as soon as possible to a conclusion. And it was concluded accordingly, with the most indecent precipitation, towards the end of the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-three, without any considerable opposition from the princes, who had long despaired of deriving from it any of those salutary effects which had been expected[e]. They perceived that the pope's influence over it was not to be controuled; and foresaw that the continuance of it must serve only to augment and strengthen his authority, which it had been their intention to circumscribe. Of this they had the most convincing evidence in the concluding session, in which two decrees were passed that had not been mentioned before, and were manifestly designed as an acknowledgment of the subordination of the council to the Holy See. One of these was, That application should be made to the pope for his confirmation of the decrees; and the other, That whatever expressions had been employed in any of the decrees, were to be understood without prejudice to the pope's authority.

Conclusion of the council. 1563.

The last decrees.

PIUS rejoiced exceedingly when he was informed of the dissolution of the council, and still more when he received intelligence of these its last decrees. He ordained, on this occasion, a solemn thanksgiving; and in the consistory declared, that he would con-

1564. The pope's joy on this occasion.

[e] The acts were subscribed by the 4 legates, 2 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 168 bishops, 7 abbots, 7 generals or regulars, and 39 proxies. Paul, lib. viii.

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1564.

firm all the decrees, and add many reformations to thoſe which had been enacted by the council. By theſe reformations, ſome of his courtiers apprehended that the profits ariſing from their offices would be diminiſhed; and they employed all their influence to diſſuade him from his purpoſe. Pius had no intention to introduce any alterations of which they had reaſon to be afraid; but he conſidered, that his refuſing to confirm the decrees would be interpreted as a condemnation of the council; that all its acts would be thereby brought into diſrepute; and that occaſion might thence be taken, by the French and others, to hold national aſſemblies. And he conſidered likewiſe, that it would depend entirely upon himſelf to determine, how far any particular decree ſhould be carried into execution. For theſe reaſons he diſregarded the objections of his courtiers, and publiſhed his bull of confirmation, with the uſual formalities; requiring all prelates and princes to receive and enforce the decrees of the holy council of Trent; prohibiting all perſons, whether laymen or eccleſiaſtics, from writing any explication of them under the form of notes or commentaries; and commanding the catholics every where to have recourſe, in all dubious caſes, to the Apoſtolic See.

His bull of confirmation.

THIS bull was addreſſed only to the catholics; for Pius did not expect that any greater regard would be paid to it by the proteſtants than they had ſhewn to his bull of convocation. The whole conduct of the council had, from the beginning, been calculated to widen, inſtead of cloſing, that breach which ſubſiſted between them and the Roman church. The ancient religion was now more clearly aſcertained. Its doctrines, the offspring of ſubtle ſophiſtry, artifice, and preſumption, were formally defined; its rites, which had crept into the church in the dark ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition, were now made an eſſential part of wor-

Bad effects of the decrees of the council.

ſhip;

ſhip; and anathemas were pronounced againſt all perſons by whom either the former or the latter were not embraced. By this impolitic conduct the proteſtants were more clearly inſtructed where to direct their attack; and in thoſe abſurdities, into which men muſt fall who venture to dogmatiſe on ſubjects ſo myſterious as many articles of the chriſtian faith, they often found abundant matter of victory and triumph. No conceſſions of any kind had been made by the council, in order to reconcile them; but all their doctrines had been indiſcriminately condemned; and henceforth all ground of hope was cut off of ever inducing them to return into the boſom of the church, by any other means but open force and perſecution.

The decrees rejected by the court of France.

PIUS flattered himſelf that theſe means would ſooner or later prove effectual; and was therefore little concerned at the conduct of the proteſtants with reſpect to the council. He was much more deeply affected by the ill-humour which the queen-mother and miniſters of France diſcovered on the preſent occaſion. They had been ſomewhat diſguſted at the little regard that had been ſhewn to their deſire, of having the council declared to be a new council. They were diſpleaſed with the decrees of reformation, by ſome of which the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was extended beyond its former bounds; and they were highly diſſatisfied with the tacit acknowledgment contained in the concluding decrees, of the ſuperiority of the pope above councils; an opinion which in France had been always impugned and rejected. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, and deſirous at the ſame time of avoiding to give any freſh occaſion of diſcontent to the Calviniſts, the French court (although earneſtly ſolicited by Pius) refuſed to receive and publiſh the decrees [f].

[f] Father Paul, lib. v, vi, vii, viii.

BOOK V.

1564. They are accepted by Philip, and other catholic princes.

Pius had reaſon to apprehend that the example of ſo great a monarchy would be imitated by the other catholic powers. But he had the pleaſure of receiving information from his nuncios, that not only the Republic of Venice, and the ſeveral Italian princes, but moſt of the catholic princes in Germany, and the king of Spain, had reſolved to acknowledge the authority of the council.

In forming this reſolution, Philip gave a ſtriking proof of that zeal which he ſo uniformly felt, or affected, for the catholic religion and the Holy See. No prince was ever more jealous of his power, or more tenacious of his rights; upon ſome of which encroachments had been made in the decrees of reformation. During the celebration of the council, he had complained loudly of the dependance in which it was held by the pope; he had again and again endeavoured, but in vain, to get that firſt decree reſcinded, by which the legates alone could propoſe the queſtions to be diſcuſſed; and he had likewiſe been highly offended with the pope's precipitate diſſolution of the council, in which meaſure he had neither been conſulted, nor had any delay been granted at his ambaſſador's requeſt. To theſe cauſes of alienation, Pius added another, which might have been attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences, by determining a diſpute for precedence between the Spaniſh and French ambaſſadors at Rome, in favour of the latter. To decide this point, which was of ſo delicate a nature, at ſo critical a juncture, the pontiff was induced, partly by the hopes of prevailing on the court of France to receive the decrees of the council, and partly by his dread that, if the young king were not gratified in this matter, his counſellors would adviſe him to break off all connection with Rome, and to commit the ſupreme eccleſiaſtical authority in the kingdom to a patriarch of his own election.

Diſpute of precedence between the ambaſſadors of France and Spain, decided in favour of France.

Pius

1564.

PIUS ordered his nuncio to explain theſe motives to the catholic king, and ſpared no pains to convince him of the neceſſity of the ſtep which he had taken; nor were his endeavours altogether ineffectual. Philip did not, indeed, for ſome time, ſend any ambaſſador to Rome in the place of Don Louis de Requeſens, who left it when the point of precedence was decided; but being determined, if poſſible, to live on amicable terms with the Holy See, he reſolved to ſtifle his reſentment. Nor did he ſuffer it to influence his conduct with regard to the decrees of the council, which, although they were not entirely conformable to his wiſhes, yet would contribute, he believed, in ſome meaſure, to prevent the progreſs of hereſy; and therefore he iſſued orders, without heſitation, to have them received and obeyed throughout all his dominions[z]. July.

[z] Cabrera, lib. vi. c. 16. Pallavicini, lib. xxiv. cap. 12.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK VI.

PHILIP's attention was, ſoon after this, called to objects of a very different nature from thoſe by which, during the ſitting of the council, it had been engroſſed. The ſucceſs of his enterpriſe againſt Pennon de Velez, having given great uneaſineſs to all the piratical ſtates, they had endeavoured to engage the Sultan to undertake the recovery of that fort; and had intreated him to employ ſuch a fleet and army as might be ſufficient to expel the Spaniards from the coaſt of Africa. Solyman was at the ſame time earneſtly ſolicited by great numbers of his ſubjects, to take vengeance on the knights of Malta, who, beſides co-operating with the Spaniards in all their African expeditions, ſtill continued to exerciſe their wonted hoſtilities againſt the Turks at ſea, and had of late made innumerable captures.

BOOK VI.

1565.

Hoſtile intentions of the Sultan againſt Philip and the knights of Malta.

THIS

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THIS prince was of himſelf as much incenſed both againſt the former and the latter of theſe his enemies as any of his ſubjects could deſire; and notwithſtanding his great age, he was inflamed as much as ever with the ambition of extending his dominions. He therefore lent a willing ear to the ſolicitations which he now received; and having ſuſpended all his other purſuits, he reſolved to turn his whole attention againſt the Malteſe and Spaniards. But he heſitated whether he ſhould begin his operations with invading Malta, or the dominions of the catholic king; and to aſſiſt him in deciding this point, he held a council of his moſt experienced commanders.

MAHOMET, the oldeſt and wiſeſt of all his Baſhas, was of opinion, that it would be highly inexpedient to begin with invading Malta; in ſubduing which, he ſaid, the Sultan would find infinitely greater difficulty than he had encountered formerly in the conqueſt of Rhodes. The latter of theſe iſlands, he obſerved, lay at ſo great a diſtance from Europe, as had made it almoſt impoſſible for the chriſtians to ſend aſſiſtance to the beſieged; and was beſides ſo large and fertile as to furniſh ſubſiſtence to the Turkiſh troops. Whereas the former was ſmall and barren; ſo far from the Porte, and ſo near to Sicily and Italy, that the knights could eaſily receive from thence perpetual ſuccours and ſupplies. The king of Spain was deeply concerned in their preſervation; and he, and other Chriſtian princes, would, from religion as well as intereſt, think themſelves bound to ſupport an order of men whom they had long regarded as the champions of their faith. The knights would defend their iſland with the utmoſt obſtinacy. And even although the Sultan ſhould at laſt get poſſeſſion of it, yet a new cruſade would be formed by the chriſtians for its recovery, and the Turkiſh fleet would be deſtroyed in the

the harbours, before it could be put into a poſture of defence. Sicily, he thought, would be a much eaſier and more certain conqueſt. The reduction of that iſland would conduce more to the Sultan's glory, as well as to the intereſt of his empire; and it would be quickly followed by the reduction of the knights of Malta, who could not ſubſiſt a ſingle ſeaſon without thoſe continual ſupplies of proviſion which that more fertile region afforded them.

Solyman reſolves to begin with the ſiege of Malta.

A PRINCE of ſo great penetration as Solyman could not be inſenſible of the weight of theſe conſiderations; but having been long accuſtomed to triumph over much more formidable enemies than the knights of Malta, and having formerly expelled the knights themſelves from Aſia, when their power was more conſiderable than at preſent, he believed that they could not long reſiſt his victorious arms. In this confidence of ſucceſs he was confirmed by moſt of the Baſhas, who choſe rather to flatter his inclinations at the expence of his intereſt, than to run the riſque of incurring his diſpleaſure. His reſentment againſt the knights was greatly heightened at this time by the capture of a rich galleon belonging to ſome of his greateſt favourites in the Seraglio. Theſe perſons exerted all their influence to procure a ſpeedy vengeance, and contributed to determine the Sultan to open the campaign with the ſiege of Malta; after the conqueſt of which he reſolved to turn his arms againſt the king of Spain.

His preparations.

HAVING thus fixed his purpoſe, he iſſued orders for equipping all the ſhips in his empire with the utmoſt expedition; ſent a great number of troops to the ſea-ports in the Morea, where he intended they ſhould embark; and deſired Haſcem and Dragut, his viceroys in Algiers and Tripoli, to hold their corſairs ready

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to join his fleet when it ſhould arrive at Malta. He gave the command of the fleet to Piali, and that of the land forces to Muſtapha, an experienced general, at the age of ſixty-five, who had acquired his eſteem and confidence by ſeveral victories which he had obtained in Aſia. To theſe men he recommended ſtrongly the acting in concert with each other; and required them to conſult in every matter of importance with Dragut, whom he regarded as the ableſt naval officer in his dominions.

La Valette the grand-maſter of Malta.

THE news of his preparations ſoon reached the ſeveral chriſtian powers on the coaſt of the Mediterranean. But they were for ſome time in doubt where the ſtorm which was gathering would burſt. At length John de la Valette Pariſot, the grand-maſter of Malta, received certain information of Solyman's deſign, from ſpies whom he employed at Conſtantinople. He immediately communicated his intelligence to the king of Spain, the pope, and moſt of the other chriſtian princes; and repreſented to them the neceſſity of granting their aſſiſtance at the preſent criſis, if they would ſave from ruin an order of men whoſe bravery had for ages paſt been continually exerted in the protection of chriſtians of every nation in Europe, againſt the implacable enemy of the chriſtian name.

Philip's reſolution to ſupport the knights.

BUT although the ſubjects of almoſt every chriſtian ſtate had, on numberleſs occaſions, been ſupported by their generoſity, and protected, or reſcued from ſlavery, by their intrepid valour, yet only ſuch princes thought it incumbent on them to intereſt themſelves in their behalf whoſe territories lay expoſed to immediate danger. Of theſe no one had ſo much ground to dread the conſequences of ſuffering the knights to be overwhelmed, as the king of Spain. For beſides that his dominions were more expoſed, he

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was much more obnoxious to the Sultan, than any other Chriſtian monarch. He had repeatedly committed hoſtilities againſt the African corſairs, whom Solyman had taken under his protection; and he could not call in queſtion the intelligence tranſmitted to him by the grand-maſter, that as the Turkiſh armament was to be ſent firſt againſt the knights, it would be employed next againſt himſelf. Philip had ever looked on Malta as his principal bulwark againſt the invaſions of the Turks; and he was ſenſible that he had now more reaſon than ever to conſider it in that view. Prompted by theſe motives, he reſolved to exert himſelf with vigour in its defence; and having written to his miniſters and allies in Italy, to form an army of twenty thouſand men, which ſhould be ready to embark on the ſhorteſt notice, he aſſembled a numerous fleet at Meſſina, and ſent inſtructions to Don Garcia de Toledo, the viceroy of Sicily, to watch over the preſervation of Malta with the ſame ſolicitude as if Sicily itſelf were to be attacked.

The grand-maſter's activity and vigilance.

THE zeal with which Philip eſpouſed the cauſe of the knights, delivered them from their anxiety with regard to the final iſſue of the war, but did not prevent the grand-maſter from exerting his activity and vigilance in preparing for a vigorous defence. Beſides ſending a general ſummons to the knights diſperſed throughout the ſeveral provinces in Europe, to repair inſtantly to Malta; he diſtributed all the inhabitants of the iſland capable of bearing arms into companies, and appointed the knights to train them in the ſeveral branches of military diſcipline. He cauſed two thouſand troops to be levied by his agents in Italy, and kept all the ſhips belonging to the order, perpetually employed in importing arms, military ſtores, and proviſions.

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In obedience to his ſummons, all the knights haſtened to his aſſiſtance, except ſuch as were prevented by age or infirmities; and theſe ſupplied their perſonal ſervices, by ſending him all the money which they could raiſe out of the effects belonging to their convents. Before the arrival of the enemy, he reviewed his forces, and found that they amounted to ſeven hundred knights and eight thouſand five hundred ſoldiers, including two companies of Spaniards which were ſent to him from Sicily. Theſe troops, after a ſolemn religious proceſſion, and partaking of the holy ſacrament, he diſtributed among the knights; and aſſigned to all of them their proper ſtations. In the midſt of the multiplicity of affairs which demanded his attention, there was nothing omitted which human prudence could provide. He was continually employed either in viſiting the poſts, or examining the ſtores, or ſtrengthening the fortifications, or inſtructing the officers as to the conduct proper to be obſerved in caſe of an attack. The wiſdom diſplayed in his plan of defence, inſpired his troops with confidence; and his tranquillity and fortitude communicated to them an elevation of mind, which rendered them ſuperior to every calamity that could befal them.

Arrival of the Turks at Malta under Muſtapha and Piali.

At length the Turkiſh fleet having left Conſtantinople in the end of March, arrived in ſight of Malta about the middle of May; conſiſting of more than two hundred ſail, and having on board, beſides a great number of chriſtian ſlaves, deſigned to ſerve as pioneers, above forty thouſand land forces, compoſed chiefly of Janiſſaries and Spahis, the braveſt ſoldiers of the Ottoman empire. This formidable army landed at ſome diſtance from Il Borgo [a], and ſoon afterwards ſpread themſelves over the

[a] The town where the ſtrength of the order was concentered.

country;

country; ſetting fire to the villages, putting the peaſants to the ſword, and carrying off ſuch of the cattle, as, notwithſtanding the orders of the grand-maſter, had not been ſecured within the forts and towns.

WHILE the Turks were thus employed, La Valette ſent out De Copier, marſhal of the order, with two hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot, to watch their motions. De Copier, an officer of great experience, executed his commiſſion with ſo much prudence and vigour, that by falling unexpectedly on detached parties, he cut off one thouſand five hundred of the Turks, with the loſs of only about eighty men. But La Valette intended, by permitting theſe ſkirmiſhes, only to make trial of his troops, and to accuſtom them to the looks and ſhouts of the enemy. He conſidered that even ſo ſmall a loſs as was occaſioned by theſe rencounters, was more than he could eaſily ſupport. He therefore recalled De Copier, and ſent the ſoldiers and knights under his command to their reſpective poſts.

The ſiege of St. Elmo.

THE Turkiſh general held a council of war as ſoon as all his troops were landed, to aſſiſt him in reſolving where he ſhould begin his attack. Piali, agreeably to what he underſtood to have been the Sultan's inſtructions, was of opinion that they ought not to enter upon action till Dragut ſhould arrive. But Muſtapha having received information of the king of Spain's preparations, thought that ſomething muſt be done inſtantly for the ſecurity of the fleet; which lay at preſent in a creek where it was expoſed to the violence of the eaſt wind, and might be attacked with great advantage by the Spaniards. On this account he was of opinion, that they ſhould immediately lay ſiege to a fort called St. Elmo, which ſtood on a neck of land near Il Borgo, having the principal harbour on one ſide of it, and on the other, ano-

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ther harbour large enough to contain the whole fleet in ſafety. This propoſal was approved by a majority of the council, and Muſtapha proceeded without delay to carry it into execution. He vainly expected that he would be able to reduce the fort in a few days. But beſides the valour with which it was defended, there were two circumſtances which greatly augmented the difficulty of his enterpriſe: one of theſe was, that the garriſon could eaſily receive ſupplies from the town, acroſs the great harbour, which was ſecured by two forts, called St. Angelo and St. Michael, or La Sangle; and the other, that his approaches to the fort were retarded by the nature of the road leading to it, which was either a bare rock, or the rock thinly covered with a ſtony ſoil. This laſt inconvenience he remedied, by ſubſtituting in the place of trenches, a parapet formed of planks and beams covered on the ſide towards the fort with earth, which they brought from a diſtance, and mixed with ſtraw and ruſhes. By this invention, he was enabled to open a battery mounted with his largeſt cannon, on the ſixth or ſeventh day after his arrival on the iſland; and he quickly convinced the governor, the bailiff of Negropont, that it would be impoſſible for him to hold out long. Of this the governor gave immediate information to the grand-maſter, and made choice of a knight of the name of La Cerda for his meſſenger. This man, greatly diſturbed by fear, exaggerated the danger which he had been ſent to repreſent, and had the imprudence to tell the grand-maſter, in the preſence of many of the knights, that he muſt not expect that the place would ſuſtain the ſiege above a week longer. "And what loſs," ſaid La Valette, "have you received that makes you ſo ſoon deſpair?" "The fort," replied La Cerda, "is to be conſidered as a ſick perſon, greatly reduced, who muſt receive continual remedies and ſupplies." "I myſelf,"

Difficulties attending the ſiege.

St. Elmo thought untenable by the garriſon.

myſelf," anſwered the grand-maſter with great indignation, "will be the phyſician; and will bring others along with me, who, if they cannot cure you of your fear, will at leaſt preſerve the fort from falling into the hands of the infidels."

The Grand-maſter's reaſons for defending it to the laſt.

LA VALETTE did not expect that a place which was neither ſtrong, nor large enough to admit a numerous garriſon, could be defended long againſt ſo great a force as was employed to reduce it; but he thought it neceſſary that the ſiege of this fort ſhould be prolonged as much as poſſible, in order to give the viceroy of Sicily time to come to his relief. With this view he reſolved to throw himſelf into St. Elmo with a ſelect body of troops; and he was preparing to ſet out when the whole body of knights remonſtrated with ſuch earneſt importunity againſt his leaving the town, that he at laſt conſented to ſuffer the reinforcement which he had prepared, to be conducted to the fort by a knight called De Medran, upon whoſe conduct and intrepidity he could rely with the moſt aſſured confidence.

Progreſs of the ſiege.

NOT long after De Medran's arrival in the fort, the garriſon made a vigorous ſally, in which they drove the enemy from their intrenchments, and put a number of them to the ſword. But the reſt ſoon recovered from their ſurpriſe, and having returned to the charge, they compelled the chriſtians to retire. In this rencounter, the vigorous efforts of the Janiſſaries were favoured by the wind, which blew the ſmoke of the guns upon the fort, and covered the beſieged with a thick cloud, through which it was impoſſible to diſcern the operations of the enemy. This incident the Turks had the preſence of mind to improve to great advantage. They ſeized, unperceived, upon the counterſcarp, made a lodgment there with beams, wool-

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ſacks, and gabions; and raiſed a battery upon it with incredible expedition. After the ſmoke was diſperſed, the beſieged beheld what had been done with much aſtoniſhment; and they were the more diſquieted as the fortification which the Turks had raiſed upon the counterſcarp, overtoped a ravelin which lay near it, in which the beſieged could no longer appear with ſafety. They reſolved however to defend this ravelin as long as poſſible, whatever it ſhould coſt them.

Arrival of Dragut.

IN the mean time Dragut and another noted corſair called Uluchiali arrived with twenty gallies, having, beſides ſlaves and ſeamen, two thouſand five hundred troops on board. This reinforcement and the preſence of Dragut added freſh vigour to the operations of the ſiege. This gallant corſair expoſed himſelf on all occaſions with the utmoſt intrepidity; ſpent whole days in the trenches; and as, beſides his other extraordinary talents, he was particularly ſkilful in the management of artillery, he cauſed ſome new batteries to be raiſed in more advantageous ſituations than had hither to been made choice of; and kept up a continual fire both upon the ravelin abovementioned, and a cavalier that covered the fort, and was one of its principal defences.

Progreſs of the ſiege.

THIS cavalier ſoon became the only defence which could prevent the beſiegers from coming up to the very foot of the wall. Some Turkiſh engineers having approached the ravelin at daybreak, to examine the effects of their artillery, they obſerved a gun-port ſo low, that one of them, when mounted on the ſhoulders of another, looked into it, and ſaw the chriſtian ſoldiers lying on the ground aſleep. Of this they gave immediate information to the troops; who, advancing as quickly and ſilently as poſſible, and clapping ladders to the gun-hole, got up into the ravelin, and cut moſt of the chriſtians to pieces.

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BETWEEN this ravelin and the cavalier lay the ditch, over which the beſieged had thrown a temporary bridge of planks, leading up to the cavalier. The Turks perceiving this, leapt inſtantly upon the bridge, and attempted to make themſelves maſters of the cavalier, as they had already done of the ravelin. But the garriſon was now alarmed; the braveſt of the knights haſtened from different quarters to the poſt of danger; and, after an obſtinate engagement, they compelled the Turks to retire into the ravelin. There the Janiſſaries obſerving another way of reaching the cavalier, by a path from the bottom of the ditch, they threw themſelves down without dread or heſitation; and having aſcended by this path to the other ſide, they renewed their attack with greater fury than ever. The combat laſted from ſunriſe till noon, when the invincible bravery of the garriſon proved at laſt victorious. About twenty knights and a hundred ſoldiers were killed, and near three thouſand of the enemy.

As the ravelin was open on the ſide towards the fort, the beſieged pointed ſome cannon againſt it, and made great havoc among the infidels. But Muſtapha, ſenſible of the value of the acquiſition which he had made, poured in freſh ſoldiers without number; and the pioneers coming forward with wool-ſacks, planks, and gabions, put the troops at length in ſafety, and made a lodgment in the ravelin, of which the garriſon were never able to diſpoſſeſs them.

THE grand-maſter's concern on account of this diſaſter was greatly augmented, by conſidering that it could not have happened ſo ſoon, without ſome negligence on the part of the garriſon. He ſent them however an immediate reinforcement; but both the

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siege and the defence were carried on with the same vigour as before.

The distress of the garrison.

But the situation of the besieged was now become much more dangerous than formerly. The Turks applied themselves with unremitting diligence to heighten the ravelin till it overtopt the wall of the fort; and after this, the garrison could no longer appear upon the parapet with safety. Many were killed by the enemy's artillery. Several breaches were made in different parts of the wall, and the hearts of the bravest knights began to fail within them. They apprehended, that ere long the Turkish general would attempt to take the fort by storm, and they dreaded that it would be impossible for so small a number to resist so numerous an enemy.

They apply for liberty to quit the fort.

They agreed therefore, though with much reluctance, to apply to the Grand Master for liberty to quit the fort; and they made choice of the chevalier De Medran for their messenger. De Medran represented that the fort was in reality no longer tenable, and that to continue in it, though only a few days, would infallibly occasion the utter destruction of the garrison. That nothing could be of greater advantage to the Turks than sending the forces of the Order to a place where there were no fortifications to defend them; that by doing so, the troops necessary for the defence of the other fortresses would soon be consumed, and these fortresses become an easy prey to the enemy. But he concluded with saying, that, although this was the opinion of all the garrison, he was commissioned to declare to the Grand Master, that whatever resolution he should form, they were determined to yield an implicit obedience to his authority.

Refused by the Grand Master.

Most of the knights in council thought that this request of the garrison ought to be immediately granted. But La Valette

was of a contrary opinion. The fort, he acknowledged, would not probably hold out much longer; and he lamented the fate of thoſe gallant knights and ſoldiers who were ſtationed in ſo perilous a ſituation. But there were caſes, he ſaid, in which it was neceſſary to ſacrifice ſome of the members for the preſervation of the body; and ſuch he knew to be the preſent critical ſtate of their affairs. For he was credibly informed that the Sicilian viceroy had declared, that if the fort of St. Elmo were loſt (as he could not then attack the Turks with the ſame advantage as at preſent), he would not expoſe his fleet to the riſk of a defeat for the ſake of the reſt of the iſland. And on this account La Valette ſubjoined, that the preſervation of the Order depended almoſt entirely on the length of the preſent ſiege. This he repreſented to the chevalier De Medran, and ſent him back with inſtructions to remind the knights of the vow which they took at their entrance into the Order, of ſacrificing their lives for its defence. He likewiſe bade him aſſure them, in his name, that he would not fail to ſend them ſuch reinforcements as they ſhould ſtand in need of, and was determined, as ſoon as it ſhould be neceſſary, to come himſelf to their aſſiſtance, with a fixed, unalterable purpoſe to lay down his life, ſooner than deliver the fort into the hands of the Infidels.

THIS anſwer had the deſired effect on ſeveral of the knights, and particularly on thoſe whoſe principles of honour and attachment to the Order were confirmed by years. But the greater part of them were much diſſatisfied. They thought the Grand Maſter's treatment of them harſh and cruel, and wrote him a letter, ſubſcribed by fifty-three, in which, after repeating their former requeſt, they informed him, that if he did not, on the next night, ſend

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boats to carry them to the town, they were determined to ſally out into the Turkiſh camp, where they might fall honourably by the ſword, inſtead of ſuffering ſuch an ignominious death as they had reaſon to expect, if the fort were taken by ſtorm.

To this letter La Valette replied, "That they were much miſtaken, if they expected to ſatisfy their honour by throwing away their lives; ſince it was no leſs their duty to ſubmit to his authority, than to ſacrifice their lives in defence of the Order: that the preſervation of the whole depended on their preſent obedience to his commands: that no aid was to be expected from Spain, if the fort were given up; and that, if he ſhould yield to their requeſt, and bring them to the town, the town itſelf would then be immeately inveſted, and they, as well as the reſt, ſoon afterwards reduced to a ſituation more deſperate than that from which they were ſo ſolicitous to eſcape, by deſerting an important ſtation which they had undertaken to defend." Beſides this letter, he ſent three commiſſioners to examine the ſtate of the fortifications; intending by this meaſure either to gain time, or to prevent the garriſon from ſinking into deſpair.

THESE commiſſioners differ widely in the accounts which they delivered at their return. Two of them thought it impoſſible to defend the fort much longer. But the third, named Conſtantine Caſtriot, a Greek prince, deſcended from the famous Albanian hero, Sanderbeg, whether from ignorance, or a conſciouſneſs of greater reſources in his native courage than the other two poſſeſſed, maintained that the garriſon was far from being reduced to the laſt extremity; and to give proof how firmly he was perſuaded of the truth of what he ſaid, he offered to enter the fort himſelf, and to undertake the defence of it with ſuch troops as ſhould be willing to accompany him.

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THE grand-maſter, ſtrongly impreſſed with a ſenſe of the neceſſity of protracting the ſiege, immediately accepted this offer, and beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on Caſtriot's zeal and reſolution. Nor did Caſtriot find any difficulty in perſuading a ſufficient number to attend him, who were no leſs zealous and reſolute than himſelf. The ſoldiers crowded to his ſtandard, and were emulous to have their names inrolled for that dangerous ſervice in which he had engaged.

WHEN La Valette ſaw the ſpirit by which theſe men were animated, and had no longer any doubt of being able, by their means, to prolong the ſiege of the fort, he ſent a letter to the knights, acquainting them, that he was now willing to give them their diſcharge; and would immediately ſend another garriſon, into whoſe hands, he deſired, they ſhould be ready to deliver up the fort, and come themſelves to the town in the boats in which their ſucceſſors were to be tranſported. "You, my brethren," continued he, "may be in greater ſafety here than in your preſent ſituation; and I ſhall then feel leſs anxiety for the preſervation of the fort, although I think it of ſo great importance, that on the preſervation of it, that of our Order ſeems entirely to depend."

THE contents and ſtyle of this letter affected the knights in the moſt ſenſible manner, and rouſed within them that delicate ſenſe of honour, by which the Order had been ſo long and ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. They dreaded the reception which they were about to meet with from the grand-maſter and the other knights: "And ſhould this new garriſon," ſaid they to each other, "which is appointed to ſucceed us, be fortunate enough to hold out till the Spaniards arrive, in what corner of the earth ſhall we conceal

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our infamy?" They reſolved without heſitation to remain in the fort till every man ſhould periſh, rather than either deliver it to the new garriſon, or abandon it to the enemy. And they went in a body to the governor, and intreated him to inform the grand-maſter of their repentance, and to join with them in praying that they might be ſuffered to wipe out the remembrance of their fault by their future conduct.

THE governor readily complied; and, in order to prevent the new garriſon from ſetting out in the night, he diſpatched his letter by a noted ſwimmer before it was dark. La Valette ſecretly rejoiced at this application; but ſent word to the governor, that he muſt always prefer even a body of new troops to the moſt experienced warriors, who had refuſed to ſubmit to the controul of military diſcipline. When this anſwer was reported to the knights, they were overwhelmed with anguiſh, and had recourſe to the moſt ſubmiſſive intreaties of forgiveneſs. The grand-maſter ſuffered himſelf at laſt to be overcome; and henceforth the garriſon, diſmiſſing all thoughts of their own ſafety, were intent on nothing but how to prolong the defence.

THE grand-maſter ſent them every night freſh troops, to ſupply the place of the killed and wounded; and kept them well furniſhed with proviſions, ammunition, and fire-works. Of theſe laſt he had invented a particular kind, which conſiſted of hoops of wood, covered with wool, and ſteeped in boiling oil, and other inflammable liquors, mixed with nitre and gunpowder. To theſe machines they ſet fire, and threw them flaming in the midſt of the enemy, when they were crowded together at an aſſault. It happened often that two or three of the Turks were hooked together and ſcorched to death; and the utmoſt confuſion was produced wherever the hoops were thrown.

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The invincible bravery of the garrison.

THE beſieged ſtood much in need of theſe, and every other inſtrument of miſchief, that could be deviſed for their defence. In ſpite of the moſt vigorous oppoſition, the Turks had caſt a bridge over the ditch, and begun to ſap and undermine the wall. From the 17th of June to the 14th of July, not a ſingle day paſt without ſome rencounter; and Muſtapha had frequently attempted to ſcale the wall of the fort, but had been as often repulſed with the loſs of ſome of the braveſt of his troops.

ASHAMED at having been detained ſo long before a place of ſuch inconſiderable ſtrength, he reſolved to make one great deciſive effort, and to bring to the aſſault as many of his forces as the ſituation of the place would permit him to employ. He had already made ſeveral breaches; but in order to ſecure the ſucceſs of the aſſault which he now intended, he kept his batteries playing all the 15th without intermiſſion, till the wall on that ſide where he deſigned his attack was almoſt level with the rock. On the 16th the fleet was drawn up before ſun-riſe as near the fort as the depth of the water would allow; four thouſand muſketeers and archers were ſtationed in the trenches; and the reſt of the troops, upon a ſignal given, advanced to the breach. The garriſon was prepared to receive them. The breach was lined with ſeveral ranks of ſoldiers, having the knights interſperſed among them at certain diſtances. The Turks attempted often to break through this determined band, and to overpower them with their numbers. But their numbers ſerved only to augment the loſs which they ſuſtained. Every ſhot from the fort did execution. The artillery made dreadful havoc among them, and the burning hoops were employed with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs. The novelty of theſe machines, and the ſhrieks of thoſe who were caught in them, added greatly to the terror which they inſpired, and made

it

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it impoſſible for the Turkiſh officers to keep their men firm and ſteady in purſuing the advantages which, had they preſerved their ranks, their numbers muſt have infallibly ſecured.

At length Muſtapha, after having continued the aſſault for more than ſix hours, without gaining a ſingle inch of ground on the beſieged, gave orders for ſounding a retreat.

In this attack the garriſon loſt about twenty knights and three hundred ſoldiers; but this loſs was immediately ſupplied by a reinforcement from the town: and Muſtapha was at laſt convinced, that, unleſs the communication between the fort and the town were cut off, it would be impoſſible to bring the ſiege of the former to a period, while any troops remained in any other part of the iſland. By the advice of Dragut he reſolved to extend his trenches and batteries, on the ſide next to the town, till they ſhould reach to that part of the ſea, or great harbour, where thoſe ſupplies were landed which the Grand Maſter daily ſent to the garriſon. This undertaking, he knew, muſt be attended with the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe all the ſpace between his entrenchments and the point to which it was neceſſary to extend them, lay expoſed to the artillery both of Fort St. Elmo and St. Angelo. In viewing the ground, a Sangiac, in whom he put confidence, was killed by his ſide; and, which was ſtill a more irreparable loſs, Dragut received a mortal wound, of which he died in a few days [b]. This did not however diſcourage Muſtapha from purſuing his deſign. By employing his troops and pioneers at the work day and night without intermiſſion, he at length carried it into execution. Then having planted batteries along the ſhore, and filled his trenches with muſketeers, it was impoſſible for any

Dragut killed.

[b] He was wounded in the head by the ſplinters of a ſtone, which was beat to pieces by a cannon-ſhot from Fort St. Angelo.

boat

boat to paſs from the town to the fort, without the moſt imminent danger of either being ſunk or intercepted.

The garriſon reduced to the laſt extremity.

AFTER this precaution, he reſumed with freſh vigour his attempt to take the fort by ſtorm. On the twenty-firſt, he made four different aſſaults; all of which the garriſon withſtood, and in repulſing ſo many thouſand brave and well-diſciplined troops, diſplayed a degree of proweſs and fortitude which almoſt exceeds belief, and is beyond the power of deſcription. But this heroic garriſon was now exceedingly reduced in number; and there was the ſtrongeſt reaſon to apprehend, that, in one aſſault more, they muſt inevitably be overpowered, unleſs a reinforcement were ſent them from the town. Of their deſperate ſituation they gave intelligence to the Grand Maſter, by one who ſwam acroſs the harbour in the night. The boats were inſtantly filled with knights and other ſoldiers, who generouſly reſolved to devote themſelves to certain deſtruction, for the general ſafety, and the preſervation of the fort. They ſet off from the town with as much alacrity as if they had entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of victory; but they found the Turks every where ſo much upon their guard, and the lines ſo ſtrongly defended, that, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to land, they were at laſt obliged to return, depreſſed with ſorrow for the fate of their brave companions.

THE garriſon now deſpairing of relief, gave themſelves up for loſt; but inſtead of their capitulating or attempting to eſcape, they prepared for death, and paſſed the night in prayer, and in receiving the ſacrament; after which, they embraced one another tenderly, and then repaired to their reſpective poſts; while ſuch of the wounded as had been diſabled from walking, were, at

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their own earneſt deſire, carried to the ſide of the breach, where they waited, without diſmay, for the approach of the Turkiſh army.

St. Elmo taken by aſſault.

EARLY in the morning of the twenty-third of July, the Turks advanced to the aſſault, with loud ſhouts as to certain victory, which they believed ſo ſmall a handful of men as now remained in the fort would not dare to diſpute with them. In this expectation they were diſappointed. The garriſon being reſolved on death, and deſpiſing danger, were more than men, and exerted a degree of proweſs and valour that filled their enemies with amazement. The combat laſted upwards of four hours, till not only every knight, but every ſoldier had fallen, except two or three who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. The Turkiſh colours were then planted on the ramparts; and the fleet entered the harbour which the fort commanded in a kind of triumph. When Muſtapha took a view of the fort, and examined its ſize and fortifications, he could not refrain from ſaying, "What will not the father coſt us (meaning the town), when the ſon, who is ſo ſmall, has coſt ſo many thouſands [c] of our braveſt troops." But this reflection, far from exciting his admiration of that heroic fortitude which he had found ſo difficult to overcome, ſerved only to inſpire him with a brutal fury. He ordered all ſuch of the garriſon as were found lying on the breach alive to be ript open, and their hearts torn out. And as an inſult on the knights and their religion, he cauſed their dead bodies to be ſearched for, and large gaſhes to be made in them, in the form of a croſs, after which he tied them on planks, and threw them into the ſea, to be carried by the wind and tide to the town, or fort St. Angelo.

[c] Eight thouſand.

THE

THE Grand Maſter was at firſt melted into tears at this ſhocking ſpectacle; but his grief was ſoon converted into indignation and revenge; and theſe paſſions betrayed him into an action unworthy of the exalted character which he bore. In order to teach the Baſha, as he pretended, to make war with leſs barbarity, he cauſed all the Turks whom he had taken priſoners to be maſſacred; and then putting their heads into his largeſt cannon, he ſhot them into the Turkiſh camp.

IN the ſiege which has been related, the Order loſt about one thouſand five hundred men, including one hundred and thirty of the braveſt knights. The Grand Maſter was deeply affected at ſo great a loſs; but he wiſely diſſembled his concern, and wearing ſtill the ſame magnanimous and intrepid aſpect as before, he inſpired all the troops that remained, with a fixt, unalterable reſolution, to defend the town and the other forts to the laſt extremity.

MUSTAPHA vainly imagined, that being intimidated by the fate of their companions, they would be now inclined to liſten to terms of capitulation; and in this hope he ſent an officer with a white flag to one of the gates, attended by a chriſtian ſlave, deſigned to ſerve for his interpreter. The Turk was not allowed to enter within the town; but the chriſtian was admitted, and was led through ſeveral ranks of ſoldiers under arms by an officer, who, after ſhewing him all the fortifications of the place, deſired him to take particular notice of the depth and breadth of the ditch, and ſaid to him, "See there, the only ſpot we can afford your general; and there we hope ſoon to bury him and all his Janiſſaries."

BOOK VI.

1565. Siege of Il Borgo and fort St. Michael.

THIS inſulting ſpeech being reported by the ſlave, excited in the fiery mind of the Baſha the higheſt degree of wrath and indignation, and made him reſolve to exert himſelf to the utmoſt in the proſecution of the ſiege. His troops, though greatly diminiſhed, were ſtill ſufficient to inveſt at once both the town and the fort of St. Michael[d]. He kept a conſtant fire on both; but he intended firſt to apply himſelf chiefly to the reduction of the latter, which he propoſed to attack both by land and water, at the extremity of the peninſula[e] on which it ſtands. In order to accompliſh this deſign, it was neceſſary he ſhould have ſome ſhipping introduced into the harbour, for tranſporting his forces. But the mouth of the harbour having been rendered inacceſſible by a great iron chain, and the cannon of St. Angelo, his deſign muſt have been relinquiſhed, if Piali had not ſuggeſted an expedient againſt which the Grand Maſter had not provided. This was to make the chriſtian ſlaves and the crews of the ſhips draw a number of boats, by the ſtrength of their arms, over the neck of land on which ſtood fort St. Elmo. Of this propoſal, which Muſtapha immediately adopted, information was carried to the Grand Maſter by a Turkiſh officer, who, being by birth a Greek, was touched ſuddenly with remorſe, and deſerted to the Chriſtians. In conſequence of this intelligence, La Valette ſet a great number of hands to work in framing a ſtacado along that part of the promontory where the Turks intended their attack; and at another part, where the depth of the water or the hardneſs of the bottom would not admit of the ſtacado, he ordered ſtrong intrenchments

[d] They are ſituated on two promontories that run out into the great harbour, and are ſeparated from each other by a channel, where the gallies belonging to the Order lay, and the mouth of which was ſtrongly ſecured on each ſide by batteries.

[e] Called The Spur.

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to be made upon the beach. Muſtapha in the mean time fired inceſſantly upon the fort, while the ſlaves and crews were employed in tranſporting the boats over land into the harbour. At length the Baſha, judging that the number of boats which he had tranſported would be ſufficient, and that the breaches which his artillery had made were practicable, reſolved without further delay to make an attack both by ſea and land. He was the more confident of ſucceſs, as, ſince the taking of St. Elmo, he had received a conſiderable reinforcement, by the arrival of Haſcem, ſon of Barbaroſſa, with two thouſand five hundred ſelect ſoldiers, commonly called the Bravoes of Algiers. Haſcem, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of his father's fire, and was ambitious to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the ſervice of the Sultan, begged of Muſtapha to intruſt him with the aſſault of fort St. Michael; and vaunted, with his natural arrogance, that he would ſoon make himſelf maſter of it ſword in hand. The Baſha, whether from an opinion of his valour, or an intention to teach him at his own expence the folly of his preſumption, readily complied with his requeſt; and having added ſix thouſand men to his Algerines, he promiſed to ſupport him with the reſt of his army.

Arrival of Haſcem ſon of Barbaroſſa.

HASCEM divided his forces with Candeliſſa, an old corſair, his lieutenant; to whom he committed the attack by ſea, whilſt he reſerved that on the land ſide to himſelf.

CANDELISSA having put his troops on board the boats, ſet out with drums beating, and hautboys and other muſical inſtruments playing, preceded by a boat filled with Mahometan prieſts, ſome of whom were employed in offering prayers to Heaven for his ſucceſs, or in ſinging hymns: while others had books in their hands out of which they read imprecations againſt the Chriſtians. Candeliſſa attempted firſt to break down the ſtacado which had been

Candeliſſa repulſed with great ſlaughter.

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been formed to obſtruct his landing; but finding it much ſtronger than he expected, and that, while he was employed in demoliſhing it, his troops muſt ſuffer greatly from the enemy's fire, he thought it would be eaſier to make a deſcent on that part of the ſhore which the Grand Maſter had ſtrengthened with intrenchments. At this important poſt the chriſtian troops were commanded by an ancient knight of the name of Guimeran. This experienced officer reſerved his fire till the Turks had advanced within a little diſtance of the ſhore, when by a ſingle diſcharge he killed about four hundred men. This did not prevent the reſt from approaching. Candeliſſa puſhed forwards while the Chriſtians were loading their cannon, and landed at the head of his Algerines. But Guimaran having reſerved ſome cannon charged with grape ſhot, did dreadful execution among them after they had landed, and many of them began to fly to their boats; which Candeliſſa obſerving, he commanded the boats to be put off to a little diſtance from the ſhore. His troops, perceiving then that they muſt either die or conquer, took courage from deſpair, and advanced boldly to the intrenchment, with ladders for ſcaling it in one hand, and their ſabres in the other. The combatants on both ſides diſplayed the moſt intrepid valour. Great numbers fell, and the ditch was choaked with blood, and with the bodies of the dead and wounded. The Turks at laſt, after an engagement of five hours, reached the top of the intrenchment, and there planted their enſigns. The knights, ſtung with ſhame on account of their retreat, returned with redoubled ardour. But they would probably have been overpowered by the ſuperior number of the enemy, had not the Grand Maſter ſent them a ſeaſonable reinforcement, under the admiral de Giou, and the chevalier de Quiney; who fell upon the Algerines and Turks

with a degree of fury that ſtruck terror into Candeliſſa himſelf, who was noted for his intrepidity. Having ordered the boats to be brought nearer the ſhore, he was among the firſt who fled. His bravoes fought deſperately for ſome time after he had left them; but were at length thrown down from the intrenchments, and compelled to fly to their boats with the utmoſt precipitation. The Chriſtians purſued them, and the batteries continued firing on them without intermiſſion. Many of the boats were ſunk; the water was covered with dead bodies, mangled limbs, ſhields and helmets. Of the four thouſand who had been ſent on this enterprize, ſcarcely five hundred remained, and many of theſe were dangerouſly wounded.

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HASCEM was not more fortunate in his aſſault by land, than Candeliſſa was by ſea. After having been repulſed at one breach with great ſlaughter, he rallied his troops, and led them on to another, where he fought long and deſperately, till moſt of the bravoes having fallen by his ſide, he was obliged, with much reluctance and ſorrow, to ſound a retreat.

Muſtapha repulſed.

MUSTAPHA, not unmindful of his promiſe to ſupport him, no ſooner perceived him beginning to retire, than he ordered the Janiſſaries, whom he had kept under arms, to advance. The garriſon had maintained an engagement with Haſcem for five hours, in the middle of the day, and in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year; yet, as if they had not been ſubject to the wants and weakneſſes of humanity, they advanced beyond the breach to meet the Janiſſaries and fought apparently with as much vigour and fortitude as before. By the power of ſuperior numbers, they were compelled to fall back within the breach. But there they made the moſt deſperate reſiſtance;

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reſiſtance; and, being reinforced by De Giou and De Quincy, with the troops which had triumphed over Candeliſſa, they at laſt repulſed the Janiſſaries with dreadful ſlaughter; after having loſt more than forty knights, and two hundred of the braveſt of the common men.

The ſiege of Il Borgo and St. Michael carried on at the ſame time.

MUSTAPHA, enraged by this invincible obſtinacy which the Chriſtians diſplayed in their defence, and dreading that the Spaniſh ſuccours, which had been already delayed much longer than he expected, might ſoon arrive, reſolved now to employ his whole force at once, and while he himſelf proſecuted the ſiege of fort St. Michael with one half of his troops, to employ the other under Piali, againſt the town. More batteries were raiſed. The trenches were advanced ſtill nearer than before. Bridges of ſail-yards and maſts were thrown over the ditches. Mines, notwithſtanding the hard and rocky ſoil, were ſprung. Aſſaults were repeated without number, and the two baſhas, emulous of one another, and each of them agitated with continual anxiety leſt victory ſhould declare firſt for his competitor, exhibited the moſt ſhining proofs of perſonal courage, and exhauſted all the art of war then known in the world. Yet, through the determined bravery of the knights, conducted by the Grand Maſter with conſummate prudence and indefatigable vigilance, the Turks were baffled in every attempt, and repulſed with ſlaughter. Muſtapha flattered himſelf once with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs on his part, made a machine invented by his principal engineer, in the form of a huge caſk bound ſtrongly with iron hoops, and filled with gun-powder, nails, chains, bullets, and ſuch other inſtruments of death. After ſetting fire to a train which was faſtened to this machine, it was thrown by the force of an engine, upon a ravelin that was the principal defence

of the fort. But the garriſon undiſmayed, found means, before it caught fire, to caſt it out again into the midſt of the aſſailants. In a moment afterwards it burſt with dreadful fury, and filled the Turks with conſternation. The knights then ſallied out upon them ſword in hand, and taking advantage of their confuſion, killed many of them, and put the reſt to flight.

Succeſs of Piali againſt Il Borgo.

PIALI had, on ſome occaſions, ſtill more reaſon than Muſtapha to entertain the hopes of victory, although the town was much ſtronger than the fort, and La Valette commanded there in perſon. By his batteries he had demoliſhed all the out-works of the place, and had made an immenſe breach in the wall. While his troops were engaged in a furious aſſault, that engroſſed the whole attention of the beſieged from morning till night, he employed a great number of pioneers in raiſing a cavalier or platform of earth and ſtones, cloſe by the breach, and ſo high as to overlook the parapet. Night, in the mean time, came on, and prevented him from carrying any further this great advantage; but he doubted not that next day he ſhould be able to make himſelf maſter of the place.

The wiſdom and intrepidity of the Grand Maſter.

As ſoon as he had drawn off his forces, a council of the Order was convened, and moſt of the knights were of opinion that the town was no longer tenable; that the fortifications which ſtill remained ſhould be blown up, and that the garriſon and inhabitants ſhould retire into the caſtle of St. Angelo. But the Grand Maſter received this propoſal with horror and indignation. "This would be in effect," ſaid he, "to deliver the whole iſland into the hands of the infidels. Fort St. Michael, which has been ſo gallantly defended, and which is preſerved by its communication with the town, would thus be ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering. There is no room in the caſtle of St. Angelo for the inha-

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bitants and troops; nor, if there were room, is there water in that fort for ſo great a number." It was then propoſed that at leaſt the relics of the ſaints and the ornaments of the churches ſhould be carried into the caſtle; and the knights earneſtly intreated the Grand Maſter to retire into it himſelf, aſſuring him that they would conduct the defence with the utmoſt vigour and vigilance. "No, my brethren," he replied, "what you propoſe as to the ſacred things would ſerve only to intimidate the ſoldiers. We muſt conceal our apprehenſions. It is here we muſt either die or conquer. And is it poſſible that I, at the age of ſeventy-one, can end my life ſo honourably, as in fighting, together with my friends and brethren, againſt the implacable enemies of our holy faith?" He then told them what he thought proper to be done, and proceeded inſtantly to put it in execution. Having called all the ſoldiers from fort St. Angelo, except a few who were neceſſary for managing the artillery, he employed *them* and the inhabitants all night, in throwing up intrenchments within the breach; after which he ſent out ſome of the braveſt knights, with a ſelect body of troops, to make an attempt on the cavalier. Theſe men ſtole ſoftly along the foot of the wall till they arrived at the place appointed; when they ſet up a loud ſhout, and attacked the guards whom Piali had left there with ſo much fury, that the Turks, believing the whole garriſon had fallen upon them, abandoned their poſt, and fled precipitately to their camp.

THE cavalier was immediately fortified, a battery of cannon planted on it, and a parapet raiſed on the ſide towards the enemy. And thus the breach was rendered impracticable; the town put in greater ſecurity than before; and a work, which had been deviſed for its deſtruction, converted into a bulwark for its defence.

THE

1565. Ungenerous conduct of Philip. Aug. 24.

THE Grand Maſter had now greater confidence than ever of being able to hold out till the Spaniards ſhould come to his relief. In conſequence of the aſſurances given by Philip and the Sicilian viceroy, he had, long before this time, entertained the hopes of their arrival, and had often earneſtly ſolicited the viceroy to haſten his departure from Meſſina. The conduct of this nobleman was long exceedingly myſterious. The patience of the knights was worn out by his delays; and they, and many others, ſuſpected that the real motive of his conduct was the dread of encountering with an admiral of ſo great a reputation as Piali. But it afterwards appeared that the viceroy had acted agreeably to his inſtructions from the court of Spain. For although Philip was, for the reaſons above mentioned, ſincerely intereſted in the preſervation of the knights; and had amuſed them with the moſt flattering promiſes of aſſiſtance, yet he ſeems from the firſt to have reſolved not to expoſe himſelf to danger on their account, and to avoid, if poſſible, a general engagement.

A GENEROUS and grateful prince would have acted very differently towards an ally ſo deſerving of his ſupport; and if either generoſity or gratitude had been the leading principle of Philip's conduct, it is probable he would, on this occaſion, have regarded the knights as his own ſubjects; and have thought it no leſs incumbent on him to exert himſelf in their defence, than if they had acknowledged him for their ſovereign.

BUT Philip was affected by the danger only ſo far as it threatened the tranquillity of his own dominions. He had reſolved to interpoſe in their behalf, rather than to ſuffer them to be overpowered; but he appears to have been very little touched with their calamities; and to have intended to leave them to themſelves, as long as there was any proſpect of their being able to

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make reſiſtance; by doing which he conſidered, that he would not only preſerve his own ſtrength entire, but might afterwards engage with the Turks, when they were exhauſted by the operations of the ſiege.

PHILIP adhered inflexibly to this plan, notwithſtanding the Grand Maſter's repeated importunities, much longer than was conſiſtent even with his own ſelfiſh views. For, without a degree of fortitude and proweſs on the part of the garriſon, and a degree of wiſdom, vigilance, and magnanimity, on that of the Grand Maſter, infinitely higher than there could be reaſon to expect, it muſt have been impoſſible for ſuch a handful of men to have withſtood, for ſo long a time, ſo great a force, and ſuch mighty efforts as were employed to reduce them. Even the death of the Grand Maſter alone, whoſe perſon was expoſed to perpetual danger, would have proved fatal to the knights, long before Philip ſent orders to his viceroy to give them any effectual ſupport; and in this caſe, as his own dominions or his fleet would have been immediately attacked, he would probably have had little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the timid, ungenerous counſels which he purſued.

WHATEVER judgment may be formed on this head, the viceroy did not think himſelf at liberty to yield to the repeated applications of the Grand Maſter, till the operations of the ſiege began to relax, and the Turkiſh forces were reduced from forty-five thouſand to fifteen or ſixteen thouſand; of whom many were worn out with the fatigues which they had undergone, and others rendered unfit for action by a bloody flux, which for ſeveral weeks had raged amongſt them.

IN this ſituation of affairs, when it was probable that the knights would, without aſſiſtance, have compelled the Turks to raiſe

the ſiege, the viceroy let the Grand Maſter know that he had now received ſuch inſtructions from the king, as put it in his power to ſhew his attachment to the Order; that he was not indeed permitted to attack the Turkiſh fleet; but that he would immediately bring him a ſtrong body of troops, whoſe commanders (as he himſelf muſt return to Sicily) were to be entirely ſubject to the Grand Maſter's authority, till the enemy ſhould be expelled.

Arrival of 6000 Spaniards.

THE viceroy, although ſtill ſuſpected of interpoſing unneceſſary delays, at length fulfilled his promiſe; and on the ſeventh of September landed ſix thouſand men, under Don Alvaro de Sande[e] and Aſcanio della Corna, in that part of the iſland which lay at the greateſt diſtance from the Turks; after which he immediately carried back the fleet to Sicily.

THE Turkiſh baſhas had been perſuaded by their ſpies, that the viceroy's intention was to land his troops at the caſtle of St. Angelo; and to prevent this, Piali had lain ſeveral days at anchor before the great port, after having blocked up the entrance into it by a chain of ſail-yards, piles, and boats.

The ſiege raiſed, and the departure of the Turk

IN the mean time, intelligence being brought to Muſtapha that the Spaniards were landed, and marching towards him, he was thrown into the moſt dreadful conſternation. Senſible that his ſoldiers were much diſheartened by their ill ſucceſs, he imagined that he was about to be attacked by a ſuperior army, conſiſting of the braveſt and beſt diſciplined troops in Spain. Without waiting for information of their number, he forthwith raiſed the ſiege, drew his garriſon out of St. Elmo, and leaving all his heavy cannon behind him, embarked his troops with as

[e] This is the ſame nobleman whoſe valiant defence of the fort of Gerba is deſcribed in Book IV. p. 102.

much

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much precipitation as if the Spaniards with ſuperior forces had been in ſight. He had ſcarcely got on board when a deſerter arrived from the Spaniſh camp, and informed him that with fifteen or ſixteeen thouſand men, he had fled before an army that did not exceed ſix thouſand, having no general at their head, and commanded by officers who were independent of one another. The baſha was overwhelmed with ſhame and vexation by this intelligence, and would have immediately diſembarked; but this, he knew, he durſt not attempt without conſulting Piali, Haſcem, and his other principal officers.

WHILE he was deliberating upon it, the Grand Maſter improved to the beſt advantage the leiſure that was afforded him. He employed all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, as well as the ſoldiers, in filling up the enemy's trenches, and demoliſhing their works; and put a garriſon without delay into fort St. Elmo; in which the Turks now beheld from their ſhips the ſtandard of St. John erected where that of Mahomet had lately ſtood.

THIS demonſtrated to Muſtapha how much new labour awaited him in caſe he ſhould return to the ſiege; but being enraged againſt himſelf on account of the precipitancy of his retreat, and diſquieted at the thoughts of the reception which he had reaſon to expect from Solyman, he wiſhed to atone for his imprudence, and to wipe off the reproach in which it had involved him, by victory or death. Piali, who from his jealouſy of the baſha's credit with the Sultan, was not ſorry for the failure of his enterpriſe, repreſented in a council of war convened on this occaſion, that as the troops were much diſpirited and worn out, it would be expoſing them to certain deſtruction, either to lead them againſt the enemy,

enemy, or to reſume the operations of the ſiege. But a majority of the council were of a different opinion; and it was reſolved to land the forces again without delay, and to march directly againſt the Spaniards.

The Turks again landed.

THE Turkiſh ſoldiers complained bitterly of this unexpected reſolution, and obeyed the orders to diſembark with much reluctance. Their officers were obliged to employ threats with ſome, and force with others. At length the number intended was put on ſhore, and Muſtapha ſet out at their head in ſearch of the enemy.

And defeated by the Spaniards.

THE Grand Maſter had not neglected to give early notice of their march to the Spaniſh commanders, who had intrenched their little army on a ſteep hill, which the Turks would have found almoſt inacceſſible; and it was the opinion of ſome of the principal officers, that they ſhould avail themſelves of the advantage of their ſituation, and ſtand in their defence. But this propoſal was rejected with diſdain by the bold adventurous De Sandé, and the greateſt part of the Spaniſh officers; and the troops were led out of their encampment, to meet the enemy in the open field. This conduct, more fortunate perhaps than prudent, contributed to increaſe the dejection of the Turkiſh ſoldiers, and to facilitate their defeat. Having been dragged againſt their inclination to the field of battle; and being attacked by the Spaniards with great fury, both in front and flank, they ſcarcely fought; but, being ſtruck with a ſudden panic, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

MUSTAPHA, confounded and enraged by this puſillanimous behaviour of his troops, was hurried along by the violent tide of the fugitives. He fell twice from his horſe, and would have been

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been taken priſoner, if his officers had not reſcued him. The Spaniards purſued briſkly till they came to the ſea-ſhore. There Piali had his boats ready to receive the Turks, and a number of ſhallops filled with muſketeers drawn up to favour their eſcape. Without this precaution, they muſt all have periſhed; and even notwithſtanding the protection which it afforded them, the number of their killed amounted to two thouſand men, while the victors loſt only thirteen or fourteen at moſt.

Concluſion.

SUCH, after four months continuance, was the concluſion of the ſiege of Malta, which will be for ever memorable on account of that extraordinary diſplay of the moſt generous and heroic valour by which the knights, ſo few in number, were enabled to baffle the moſt vigorous effort which could be made to ſubdue them by the moſt powerful monarch in the world. The news of their deliverance gave univerſal joy to the chriſtian powers; and the name of the Grand Maſter excited every where the higheſt admiration and applauſe. Congratulations were ſent him from every quarter; and in many States public rejoicings were celebrated on account of his ſucceſs. The king of Spain, who derived greater advantage than any other from that glorious defence to which La Valette had ſo highly contributed, ſent an ambaſſador to preſent him with a ſword and dagger of which the hilts were ſolid gold, adorned with diamonds, as a teſtimony of his reſpect; and engaged to pay him annually a ſum of money to aſſiſt him in repairing his ruined fortifications [d].

[d] Thuanus, lib. xxxviii. Herrera, hiſtoria general. lib. vii. Cabrera, lib. vi. Vertot. Hiſt. des Cheval. de Malthe.

THE

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PHILIP, being now delivered from his apprehenſions of a Turkiſh invaſion, applied himſelf with zeal to his favourite objects, the extirpation of hereſy, and the enforcing of obedience to the council of Trent. Nor in theſe points did he meet with much oppoſition, in any part of his dominions except the Netherlands; where the ſeeds of diſcord, which had been ſown in the beginning of his reign, were approaching faſt towards maturity. The dutcheſs of Parma had, ſoon after his departure, experienced what a difficult charge ſhe had undertaken. The regular clergy ſtill continued to complain as loudly as ever of the new erection of biſhoprics; and contributed to the utmoſt of their power to foment the ſpirit of diſcontent among the people. No change, they ſaid, could be legally made in the conſtitution of the church, without the conſent of the

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States. The new erections were therefore a violation of a fundamental law; which was the more intolerable as the abbots, on whose ruins the biſhoprics were raiſed, were natives of the country, and deeply intereſted in the public welfare; whereas the biſhops would be entirely devoted to the courts of Rome and Spain. But the regent was obliged to pay a greater regard to the orders of the king, than to the complaints or remonſtrances of the people. Nor did ſhe yield to the importunities of any of the cities, into which it had been reſolved that the new biſhops ſhould be introduced, except Antwerp; the citizens whereof ſent deputies to Madrid, and found means to convince Philip, that his new inſtitution, through the dread with which it would inſpire foreigners that the inquiſition was about to be eſtabliſhed, would prove deſtructive to their commerce [a].

WHILE the regent was employed in ſettling the new biſhops, ſhe was not unmindful of the king's injunctions with reſpect to the execution of the edicts. They were executed with the utmoſt rigour, againſt perſons of all ages and of both ſexes, without diſtinction; and no greater regard was ſhewn, on many occaſions, to the laws of nature and humanity, than to the conſtitution of the provinces. The regent was not of herſelf inclined to thoſe cruel meaſures that were purſued; but ſhe was directed in every thing by Granvelle [b], whoſe views, ſhe knew, were perfectly conformable to thoſe of the king; and whoſe judgment, for that reaſon, ſhe often followed in contradiction to her own.

The nobility diſguſted.

IT was ſeldom that any matters relative to the edicts or the new biſhoprics were laid before the council, and when they were brought thither, they were propoſed as points already fixed, and

[a] Meteren, lib. ii. p. 37. Bentivoglio. Grotius, &c.

[b] Now Archbiſhop of Mechlin, and advanced to the dignity of Cardinal.

not as ſubjects on which there was room to deliberate. The regent formed her reſolutions privately, with the aſſiſtance of Granvelle, and there was nothing left to the council, but to give their ſanction to the meaſures which had been reſolved upon before.

It is not ſurpriſing that a conduct ſo extremely partial ſhould have given umbrage to the other counſellors. The prince of Orange and the counts Egmont and Horn [c] were more particularly offended with it. Their high ſtations, their merit and ſervices, and the truſt which had ever been repoſed in them by the late emperor, entitled them to a principal ſhare in the regent's moſt ſecret councils; and they were filled with indignation when they ſaw that, on every occaſion, a preference was given to the cardinal. "In this," they ſaid, "conſiſted the recompence of all their ſervices, to be reduced by the king, to whoſe perſon and intereſt they had ever ſhewn the moſt inviolable attachment, under the dominion of an arrogant and haughty eccleſiaſtic. The dutcheſs of Parma had the name of Regent, but the power was lodged in the hands of Granvelle. The moſt important affairs of the ſtate were all determined in private by him, without the conſent, or even the knowledge of the other counſellors. Their ſeats in the council, and their government of the provinces, were only high-ſounding empty names, which gave them the appearance of authority; whilſt they did not poſſeſs any real power, but were equally ſubjected with others to the arbitrary will of Granvelle."

While the prince of Orange and the other diſcontented Lords had ſo much reaſon to be diſſatisfied, it could not be expected that they would be extremely active in executing the orders of the court.

[c] Admirals of the Netherlands.

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Notwithſtanding all that had been done to ſuppreſs the new opinions in religion, theſe opinions were diffuſed wider and wider every day throughout the provinces. This Granvelle aſcribed to the negligence of the magiſtrates in executing the edicts. The prince of Orange, on the other hand, and count Egmont, threw the blame of it on him; and ſaid, that by purſuing meaſures to which the people of the Netherlands had never been accuſtomed, he had ſoured their minds, and brought the regent's government into hatred and contempt. Thoſe complaints were often made in the preſence of the regent herſelf; who, being preſſed on the one hand by the poſitive orders of the king, inculcated by Granvelle, and on the other, diſtreſſed by her apprehenſion of the conſequences to be dreaded from ſo much ill-humour and diſcontent, could only give ſoothing anſwers to the complainers, and flatter them with ſome general hopes that the grounds of their complaints would be removed.

Their animoſity againſt cardinal Granvelle.

She was ſtill more embarraſſed, when the prince of Orange propoſed in the council, that, in order to remedy the preſent evils, ſhe ſhould ſummon a convention of the States. It could not be expected that Granvelle would reliſh this propoſal. For he was not ignorant how ill the people ſtood affected to his perſon, and his meaſures of government; nor how much ſuperior the influence of the prince of Orange would be to his, if the States were aſſembled. But he did not neglect the preſent opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with the king. When the regent gave Philip information of the propoſal which had been made to her, and deſired to receive his inſtructions on the ſubject, Granvelle took that occaſion to repreſent to him, "That nothing could be more prejudicial to his authority than the aſſembling of the States: a meaſure which ought at all times to be avoided, as it uſually produced

produced an inclination in the people to encroach upon the prerogatives of the crown; but which there never was ſo much ground to dread as at preſent, when perſons of all conditions were ſo deeply infected with a ſpirit of ſedition and diſcontent. The abbots would come to the convention, inflamed with indignation on account of the late diminution of their revenues. The lower nobility and the deputies of the towns would be gained over by the prince of Orange, and the other diſcontented lords; and the people, ever fond of innovations, would be much more inclined to regard the opinion of their deputies than that of the regent, or the miniſters of the king."

THIS repreſentation was perfectly agreeable to Philip's views and ſentiments; nor did he heſitate in complying with the counſel which was offered him. He immediately renewed his orders to the regent with reſpect to the rigorous execution of the edicts; and thereby let the prince of Orange and the other nobles ſee that there was nothing farther from his intention than to convene the States, in order to conſider of more gentle expedients for preventing the growth of hereſy [d].

THE perſecutions, therefore, were carried on as formerly. The compaſſion which all men felt for the unhappy ſufferers, excited a general odium againſt the government. The magiſtrates encountered inſurmountable difficulties in executing the orders of the court; and the number of proteſtants increaſed daily, while the moſt vigorous efforts were made to extirpate them by the regent and her miniſters. Granvelle endeavoured to convince the king, that this was chiefly owing to the remiſſneſs of the governors of the provinces. They were not ignorant of his

They apply to Philip for his removal.

[d] Bentivoglio, lib. ii. p. 15.

accuſation;

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accuſation; and being now incenſed againſt him more than ever, they reſolved to make him feel the effects of their reſentment. Agreeably to this reſolution, the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, wrote a letter to the king, in which they laid the blame of all the diſturbances in the Netherlands upon the cardinal; who, they repreſented, had aſſumed the ſole direction of affairs, and, by his imperious conduct, had rendered himſelf the object of univerſal hatred. "It was impoſſible for them to ſerve either the king or the people, whilſt a perſon ſo exceedingly obnoxious poſſeſſed ſuch unlimited influence. But the government would proceed ſmoothly, if Granvelle were removed; and in caſe the king would grant their requeſt, there ſhould be nothing wanting on their part, either to ſupport his authority, or to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, to which they were not leſs ſincerely attached than cardinal Granvelle."

Philip's reluctance.

To this letter Philip, after a delay of ſome months, made as mild a reply as could juſtly have been expected; but he concluded with obſerving, "That it was not his practice to diſmiſs his miniſters upon the complaints of their enemies, till he had given them an opportunity of vindicating their conduct. Juſtice too required that, from general accuſations, they ſhould deſcend to mention particular crimes or miſdemeanours; and if they did not incline to do this in writing, one of them might come to Madrid, where he would be received with every mark of diſtinction and reſpect."

WITH this anſwer the prince of Orange and the other lords were much diſſatisfied; and they had the courage to reply, "That they were greatly diſappointed to find ſo little regard paid to their remonſtrance.

remonſtrance. For they had not writ their former letter, as cardinal Granvelle's accuſers, but as the king's counſellors; who, by virtue of their office were bound to inform him of whatever appeared to be of conſequence to the welfare of his dominions. They did not deſire that the cardinal ſhould ſuffer harm; and, in any place except the Netherlands, they ſhould be glad to hear of his proſperity; but his continuance there, they thought, was incompatible with the public peace." They added, "That they did not eſteem the cardinal ſo highly as to undertake a journey to Spain on his account; and that ſince the king was pleaſed to repoſe ſo little confidence in their opinion, they hoped he would diſpenſe with their further attendance in the council; where, as they could not be preſent without a diminution of their dignity, it was impoſſible for them, while the cardinal retained his influence, to be of the ſmalleſt uſe."

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To this ſecond letter, Philip made no other anſwer, but that he would conſider of what they had ſaid, and that in the mean time he expected they would continue to give their aſſiſtance as formerly in the council.

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Departure of Granvelle.

THEY now ſaw that he had no intention to comply with their requeſt. Still however they obeyed his orders, and at times they went to the council; but there, and every where elſe, they treated the cardinal with ſo much ridicule and contempt, that being at length diſguſted with his ſituation, he applied for liberty to retire. The king conſented, but with great reluctance; and could never forgive the prince of Orange, and the other lords, who had reduced him to this neceſſity [e].

[e] Bentivoglio. Grotius.

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His measures adopted by Viglius and Barlaimont.

GRANVELLE's departure was not attended with those advantages which his enemies expected to derive from it. They had flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining, after his removal, their just share in the administration; but Viglius[f], and Count Barlaimont, two zealous catholics, who had concurred with Granvelle in all his arbitrary measures, were soon received by the regent into the same degree of favour which he had possessed, and were allowed to exercise the same unlimited influence in the government.

Publication of the decrees of the council of Trent.

A LITTLE before this time the council of Trent had published its decrees, and Philip, as mentioned above, had resolved to have them obeyed throughout all his dominions. The disturbances which subsisted in the Low Countries, ought to have deterred him from adding fuel to a flame which already burnt with so much violence. But his bigotry, together with his arbitrary maxims of government, rendered him averse to every mild expedient, and determined him to enforce obedience to the decrees in the Netherlands as well as in Spain and Italy. When the regent laid his instructions on this head before the council of State, she found the counsellors much divided in their opinions. The prince of Orange maintained, "That the regent could not require the people of the Netherlands to receive the decrees, because several of them were contrary to the fundamental laws of the constitution. He represented that some catholic princes had thought proper to reject them; and proposed that a remonstrance should be made to the king on the necessity of recalling his instructions." Several other lords were of the same opinion. But Viglius, on the other hand, urged with great earnestness, the necessity of

[f] President of the privy-council, and esteemed the greatest lawyer in the Netherlands.

complying

complying immediately with the king's commands. "By general councils," he ſaid, "the church had in all ages ſecured the purity of its diſcipline and doctrines. No remedies for the diſorders in the Netherlands could be deviſed more likely to prove effectual, than the decrees in queſtion. If they ſhould be found in any reſpect incompatible with the laws or privileges of the Netherlands, the inconveniences dreaded from thence might be prevented, by executing them with prudence and moderation." He ſubjoined, "that it was the peculiar glory and happineſs of their ſovereign, that either he did not entertain the ſame erroneous ſentiments, or lie under the ſame diſagreeable neceſſity as thoſe other catholic princes who had rejected the decrees; but held opinions, and could follow meaſures, which, while they were conducive to the welfare of the church, were neceſſary in order to ſecure the peace and proſperity of his ſubjects [z]."

Progreſs of the reformation.

THIS ſpeech of Viglius had the deſired effect upon the regent; who immediately reſolved, without regard to what had been offered by the prince of Orange, to publiſh the decrees. But from different cauſes, both the number and courage of the reformers was now greatly augmented. In conſequence of the civil wars in France, many proteſtants of that kingdom had retired into the ſouthern provinces. And through the conſtant intercourſe which ſubſiſted in the way of trade between the more northern provinces and England and Germany, theſe provinces were filled with proteſtant miniſters, who, being prompted by that ardent zeal which the knowledge of important truth lately diſcovered is calculated to inſpire, exerted themſelves with unceaſing induſtry in propagating their religious tenets. The country abounded at the ſame time with books written againſt the popiſh rites and

[z] Bentivoglio, b. ii. p. 22.

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doctrines. Several of the nobility, and many of the magiſtrates, had imbibed the new opinions. The governors of the provinces were either not inclined to execute thoſe edicts to which they had from the beginning ſhewn themſelves averſe; or, as they often declared, they found it impracticable to carry them into execution, without laying the country waſte, by forcing into exile great numbers of its moſt induſtrious inhabitants. In many places the edicts were not executed at all; and in others, the proteſtants were reſcued by the people from the hands of the inquiſitors, and the inquiſitors themſelves obliged to fly from the enraged multitude.

Count Egmont ſent to Spain.

THE regent diſcovered at this time great perplexity and heſitation. She was exceedingly deſirous to have her adminiſtration approved by the king, and would have gladly complied with his inſtructions; but ſhe could not help being alarmed by the repeated repreſentations which were made to her of the conſequences that might ariſe from driving the people to deſpair. She therefore judged it expedient to ſend one of the principal nobility to Spain, to inform the king more fully than ſhe could do by writing, of the real ſtate of the provinces: and having made choice of count Egmont for her ambaſſador, as one who was equally acceptable to all parties, ſhe employed Viglius the preſident to give him her inſtructions, in preſence of the other counſellors. The prince of Orange was highly diſſatisfied with the terms in which theſe inſtructions were expreſſed: "This repreſentation," ſaid he, "of the ſtate of her affairs, is not calculated to inform the king, but to deceive him. The relation which the preſident has given of our calamities falls infinitely ſhort of the truth. We muſt lay open from the bottom thoſe wounds under which the country bleeds, elſe the king can never apply the proper cures. Let us not,

not, by our misrepresentations, make him believe the number of heretics to be smaller than it is. Let us acquaint him, that every province, every town, every village is full of them. Let us not conceal from him how much they despise the edicts, and how little they respect the magistrates; that he may see how impracticable it is to introduce the inquisition, and be convinced that the remedy which he would have us to apply, would be infinitely worse than the disease." He added, "That although he was a true catholic, and a faithful subject of the king, yet he thought the calamities which had been lately experienced in France and Germany, afforded a sufficient proof that the consciences of men were not to be compelled, and that heresy was not to be extirpated by fire and sword, but by reasoning and persuasion; to which it was in vain to expect that men would be brought to listen, until the present practice of butchering them like beasts was laid aside." He represented likewise the absurdity of publishing, on this occasion, the decrees of the council of Trent, and proposed that count Egmont should be instructed to request the king to suspend the publication of them till the present tumults were allayed. But the regent was either not inclined or not at liberty to follow the opinion of the prince of Orange in preference to that of Viglius. She called count Egmont apart from the council, and having given him such instructions as she thought proper, she made him set out immediately for Spain; after having flattered him with hopes that his journey thither, if he improved the opportunity afforded him, would secure him the full possession of his master's favour [h].

His reception there.

THE king received him at Madrid, and entertained him, during his stay there, with every testimony of regard. When he was

[h] Bentivoglio, lib. ii. Grotius, lib. i.

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about to return, he made him a preſent of fifty thouſand florins; and as the count had ſeveral daughters, Philip promiſed to diſpoſe of them in marriages ſuitable to their father's rank. The cotemporary hiſtorians differ widely in their relations of what paſſed with reſpect to the ſubject of his embaſſy. The moſt probable account is, that although Philip's anſwer was not clear and explicit, yet that he expreſſed himſelf with ſo much ſoftneſs in ſpeaking of the edicts, and uttered ſo many ſtrong profeſſions of affection for the people of the Netherlands, that the count, who was in the higheſt degree candid and ſincere, was induced to believe that the king did in reality intend to alter his meaſures of government. It is certain[j], that he returned to the Low Countries highly ſatisfied with the court of Spain; and extolled the goodneſs of the king, and the love which he bore to his Flemiſh ſubjects. The prince of Orange was not ſo eaſily deceived. Count Egmont had been impoſed upon, he ſaid, by Spaniſh artifice. His private intereſt had blinded his penetration, and created in him an ill-grounded ſecurity with regard to the public good[k].

His return.

BUT although count Egmont was not able to ſatisfy the prince of Orange, it ſhould ſeem that his report was credited by moſt of the other counſellors, and even by the regent herſelf; who would not otherwiſe have agreed to a meaſure which, immediately after the count's arrival, was ſuggeſted in the council. It was there propoſed that a certain number of divines and lawyers ſhould meet together in Bruſſels, to conſider of the moſt effectual methods of putting a ſtop to the growth of hereſy; and the regent readily conſented to this propoſal, without enquiring, as ſhe uſed to do on other occaſions, whether it would be agreeable to the king.

In conſequence of his report, a conference appointed.

[j] Grotius. [k] Vid. William's Apology, p. 485.

To

To this conference ſhe called the biſhops of Arras, Ipres, and Namur; Ravenſtenius and Janſenius, two eminent divines; the two preſidents of the provincial councils of Flanders and Utrecht, and two eminent lawyers from Mechlin and Brabant.

THE reſult of their deliberations was, that ſchools for inſtructing youth in the principles of the Catholic faith, ſhould be erected in all the provinces; that particular attention ſhould be given to reform the lives of the clergy; and that in puniſhing heretics mild chaſtiſements ſhould be adopted, in the room of thoſe ſevere ones, which upon trial had been found ſo ineffectual [1].

July. Philip offended with it.

THE regent having tranſmitted to the king an account of theſe determinations, was greatly ſurpriſed when ſhe was informed, that, far from approving them, he was extremely diſſatisfied with her for allowing the conference to be held. The ſubjects which had been conſidered in it, were points, he ſaid, already fixed by his authority; and which, on that account, ought not to have been brought under deliberation. The diſorders which occaſioned ſo much uneaſineſs to the regent, had ariſen from the connivance or negligence of her miniſters. But if any of them were found wanting, either in courage or in zeal for the ſervice which he required, ſhe muſt immediately diſmiſs them, and ſubſtitute others in their place; for no ſervice which ſhe could perform, would be either ſo acceptable to him, or ſo conducive to his glory and intereſt, as the extinction of hereſy in the Netherlands.

The perſecutions renewed.

THE regent had, from the beginning of her adminiſtration, been extremely ſolicitous to gratify the court of Spain. Nothing could have made her agree to the conference, but her conviction, founded on count Egmont's report, that it would not be unac-

[1] Bentivoglio, lib. ii. p. 25.

ceptable

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ceptable to the king. As ſoon as ſhe diſcovered her miſtake, ſhe publiſhed an edict, confirming all the former edicts, and requiring the governors and councils to proceed in the execution of them with the utmoſt diligence[m].

EVEN Viglius[n] heſitated as to the expediency of this meaſure at the preſent juncture; and it excited in the minds of the people univerſal indignation and aſtoniſhment. Thoſe hopes of deliverance from their grievances, which they had conceived from count Egmont's journey to Spain, had, by his report of the king's diſpoſition towards them, been raiſed to the greateſt height. Their diſappointment now was proportionably great. They did not blame count Egmont; for they were perſuaded that he had been deceived; but they deteſted the duplicity and artifice of Philip and his miniſters.

THE count had too much ſenſibility not to be deeply affected on this occaſion; and he complained bitterly that the king had acted with no other deſign in the ſtudied kindneſs which he had ſhewn him, but to expoſe him to the contempt or hatred of his countrymen, and thereby to ruin his credit and influence[o].

The prince of Orange remonſtrates.

THE prince of Orange was almoſt the only perſon in whom this unexpected meaſure created no ſurpriſe. When the new edict was tranſmitted to him, he wrote to the regent a letter; in which he repreſented, "That in the preſent temper of the people, it was impoſſible for the king's ſervants to execute the orders impoſed upon them, without involving the provinces in a civil war." "But if ſtill," he added, "your highneſs be determined to have the edicts carried into immediate execution, then I muſt deſire that ſome more proper perſon may be appointed in my

[m] Meurſius Gul. Auriac. p. 4, 5. [n] Ibid. p. 4. [o] Strada, lib. iv. p. 118.

place,

place, who, poſſeſſing greater authority, may be better qualified to fulfil your intention. The king is not ignorant, that, on other occaſions I have ſpared neither my perſon nor my fortune in his ſervice. My preſent conduct proceeds not from the want of loyalty or zeal, but from a perſuaſion that I cannot yield the obedience required from me, without diſhonour to myſelf, and infinite prejudice to the Netherlands [p].

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NEITHER the prince of Orange, nor the counts Egmont and Horn, expreſſed their diſſatisfaction with the preſent meaſures of government in any other way than by making remonſtrances and complaints. As it was greatly their intereſt, ſo it appears to have been their ſincere deſire, to avoid incurring the king's diſpleaſure. And they ſtudied to give him every proof of fidelity that could be reaſonably expected from thoſe who were members of a free ſtate, and had ſworn to maintain the fundamental laws of the conſtitution.

The compromiſe.

THE conduct of many of the other nobles was not ſo ſcrupulous and reſerved. They ſet on foot, at this time, a confederacy, by which they bound themſelves to ſupport one another, in preventing the inquiſition from being eſtabliſhed in the Netherlands. The prime mover of this expedient was Philip de Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde, a nobleman highly diſtinguiſhed for his eloquence, his addreſs, and his political abilities, who had the merit of contributing more than any other perſon (the prince of Orange alone excepted) towards accompliſhing that happy revolution, by which the northern provinces were reſcued from the Spaniſh yoke. By his advice, and according to his direction, a writing was drawn up, termed the Compromiſe, which is here

St. Aldegonde.

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[p] Gen. Hiſt. of the Netherlands.

inſerted,

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inſerted, as it marks ſtrongly the ſpirit by which the people of the Netherlands were animated.

"WHEREAS certain malicious perſons, under the cloak of zeal for the catholic religion, but in reality prompted by ambition, pride, and avarice, have, by their miſrepreſentations, perſuaded our lord the king to introduce into theſe provinces that moſt pernicious tribunal the inquiſition; which is not only contrary to all human and divine laws, but exceeds in cruelty the moſt barbarous inſtitutions of the moſt ſavage tyrants in the heathen world; which ſubjects all authority to that of the inquiſitors, reduces all men to a perpetual ſtate of miſerable ſlavery, and by the viſitations which it appoints, expoſes the beſt men to continual apprehenſions; ſo that if a prieſt, a Spaniard, or wicked minion of power ſhall incline, he may, by means of this inſtitution, accuſe any man, however innocent, and cauſe him to be impriſoned, condemned, and put to death, without being confronted with his accuſers, and without being allowed to bring evidence of his innocence, or to ſpeak in his defence: For theſe reaſons we whoſe names are here ſubſcribed have reſolved to provide for the ſecurity of our families, goods, and perſons; and for this purpoſe we hereby enter into a ſacred league with one another, promiſing with a ſolemn oath, to oppoſe with all our power, the introduction of the above-mentioned inquiſition into theſe provinces; whether it ſhall be attempted openly or ſecretly, and by whatever name it ſhall be called, whether that of Inquiſition, Viſitation, Commiſſion, or Edict: declaring at the ſame time, that we are far from entertaining the deſign of attempting any thing prejudicial to the intereſt of our ſovereign the king; but on the contrary, that our fixed intention is, to ſupport and defend his government, to maintain peace, and to prevent to the utmoſt of our power,

power, all ſeditions, tumults, and revolts. This agreement we have ſworn; and we hereby promiſe and ſwear to maintain it for ever ſacred; and we call Almighty God to witneſs, that neither in word nor deed ſhall we ever weaken or counteract it.

"WE likewiſe promiſe and ſwear, mutually to defend one another, in all places, and on all occaſions, againſt every attack that ſhall be made, or proſecution that ſhall be raiſed, againſt any individual amongſt us, on account of his concern in this confederacy. And we declare, that no pretence of the perſecutors, who may allege rebellion, inſurrection, or any other plea, ſhall exempt us from this our oath and promiſe. No action can deſerve the name of rebellion, that proceeds from oppoſition to the iniquitous decrees of the inquiſition; and therefore, whether any of us be attacked directly on account of oppoſing theſe decrees, or under pretence of puniſhing rebellion or inſurrection, we hereby ſwear to endeavour by all lawful means to procure his deliverance.

"IN this and every part of our conduct regarding the inquiſition, our meaning is, to ſubmit to the general opinion of our confederates, or to that of thoſe who ſhall be appointed by the reſt to aſſiſt us with their counſel.

"IN witneſs of this our league, we invoke the holy name of the living God, as the ſearcher of our hearts; humbly beſeeching him to grant us the grace of his holy ſpirit, that all our enterpriſes may be attended with ſucceſs, may promote the honour of his name, contribute to the welfare of our ſouls, and advance the peace and true intereſt of the Netherlands."

SUCH were the terms of the compromiſe, which was quickly circulated through the provinces, and ſubſcribed by perſons of all

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ranks, whether catholics or proteſtants. Books were at the ſame time multiplied, in which liberty of conſcience was pleaded, the abſurdities in the popiſh doctrines and worſhip expoſed, and hideous pictures drawn of the inquiſition.

THE regent felt great anxiety with regard to the conſequences with which ſo much ill-humour and diſcontent were likely to be attended. She had never fully credited the repreſentations which the prince of Orange and ſome of her other counſellors had often made to her. And ſhe now complained bitterly of the ſituation to which ſhe was reduced by the orders ſent from Spain. "For to what purpoſe was it (ſhe ſaid) to publiſh edicts, when I wanted power to enforce their execution? They have ſerved only to increaſe the people's audacity, and to bring my authority into contempt [q]."

Speech of the prince of Orange in the council.

THE prince of Orange, and the counts Horn and Egmont, had, ever ſince the laſt republication of the edicts, abſented themſelves from the council. The regent now wrote to them in the moſt urgent manner, requiring their attendance. They readily complied; and the regent, after having informed them of her deſign in calling them together, deſired they would deliver their opinions without reſerve. The prince of Orange was among the laſt who roſe, and he ſpoke as follows [r]:

"WOULD to Heaven I had been ſo fortunate as to gain belief, when I ventured to foretel what has now happened. Deſperate remedies would not in that caſe have been firſt applied, nor perſons who had fallen into error been confirmed in it, by the means

[q] Bentivoglio and Strada.

[r] This ſpeech is recorded by Nicolas Burgundius, who compiled his hiſtory from the papers of the preſident Viglius. Vide Brandt's Hiſtory of the Reformation in the Netherlands.

employed

employed to reclaim them. We ſhould not certainly think favourably of a phyſician's prudence, who, in the beginning of a diſeaſe, when gentle remedies were likely to prove effectual, ſhould propoſe the burning or cutting off the part infected.

"THERE are two ſpecies of inquiſition. The one is exerciſed in the name of the pope, and the other has been long practiſed by the biſhops. To the latter, men are in ſome meaſure reconciled by the power of cuſtom; and conſidering how well we are now provided with biſhops in all the provinces, it may be reaſonably expected that this ſort will alone be found ſufficient. The former has been, and will for ever be, an object of abhorrence, and ought to be aboliſhed without delay.

"WITH reſpect to thoſe edicts which have been ſo often publiſhed againſt the innovators in religion, hearken not to me, but to your own experience, which will inform you, that the perſecutions to which they have given riſe, have ſerved only to increaſe and propagate the errors againſt which they have been exerciſed. The Netherlands have for ſeveral years been a ſchool, in which, if we have not been extremely inattentive, we may have learned the folly of perſecution. Men do not for nothing forego the advantages of life; much leſs do they expoſe themſelves to torture and death for nothing. The contempt of death and pain, exhibited by heretics in ſuffering for their religion, is calculated to produce the moſt powerful effects on the minds of ſpectators. It works on their compaſſion, it excites their admiration of the ſufferers, and creates in them a ſuſpicion, that truth muſt certainly be found where they obſerve ſo much conſtancy and fortitude. Heretics have been treated with the ſame ſeverity in France and England as in the Low Countries. But has it been attended there with

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better ſucceſs? On the contrary, is there not reaſon, there as well as here, to ſay what was ſaid of the chriſtians of old, That the blood of the martyrs is the ſeed of the church. The emperor Julian, the moſt formidable enemy whom chriſtianity ever ſaw, was fully ſenſible of the truth of this. Haraſſing and tormenting could only ſerve, he knew, to inflame that ardent zeal which he wanted to extinguiſh. He had recourſe therefore to the expedient of ridicule and contempt; and this he found to be more effectual. The Grecian empire was at different periods infected with hereſies of various kinds. Ætius taught errors in the reign of Conſtance; Neſtorius in that of Theodoſius; Arius in that of Conſtantine. No ſuch puniſhments were inflicted, either on the hereſiarchs themſelves or on their diſciples, as are now practiſed in the Netherlands; and yet where are all thoſe falſe opinions now, which the firſt broachers were at ſo much pains to propagate? Such is the nature of hereſy, if it reſts, it ruſts; but he who rubs it, whets it. Let it be neglected and overlooked, it will ſoon loſe the charm of novelty; and with that, it will loſe the greateſt part of its attractive power. But they are not the examples only of heathen princes which I would recommend to the regent's imitation. In complying with my advice, ſhe will tread in the ſteps of our late glorious emperor, her father; who from experience was convinced, that gentle meaſures were more likely to prove effectual than ſevere ones; and therefore adopted the former, in preference to the latter, for ſeveral years before his reſignation.

"THE king himſelf appeared, at a certain period, inclined to make trial of mild expedients. But, through the influence of the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics, he has changed his views. Let theſe men anſwer for their conduct if they can. For my own part, I am entirely ſatisfied that it is impoſſible to root out the preſent

preſent evils in the Netherlands by force, without ſhaking the State from its foundation. I conclude with reminding you of what we have all heard frequently, That the proteſtants in the Low Countries have opened a correſpondence with thoſe in France. Let us beware of irritating them more than we have already done, leſt, by imitating the French catholics in their ſeverity, we, like them, involve our country in the dreadful miſeries of a civil war."

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THIS ſpeech was not entirely without effect. It convinced the regent, that ſhe muſt either make ſome conceſſions to the confederates, or have recourſe to arms. She was inclined to follow the latter of theſe meaſures, becauſe ſhe knew it would be more agreeable to the king; and ſhe deſired count Egmont to undertake the command of ſome forces which he propoſed to raiſe in order to carry her deſign into execution; but the count declined accepting of it, ſaying, That he could not fight with honour in defence of the inquiſition. The dutcheſs found it neceſſary, therefore, to embrace the other alternative, and to attempt to ſoothe the malcontents, by making ſome abatement in the rigour of the edicts[a].

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MEANWHILE the number of thoſe who had acceded to the compromiſe was become ſo conſiderable, that they thought it was now time to take ſome ſtep towards fulfilling their engagements. With this view they ſet out for Bruſſels, where the court reſided, and ſent ſome of their number to deſire leave of the regent, to lay before her their ſentiments concerning a ſubject in which the intereſt of the king and their perſonal ſecurity were equally concerned. The counſellors were divided in their opinions with

[a] Brandt, vol. i. p. 165.

regard

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regard to the anſwer proper to be made to this requeſt. Some of them were for rejecting it utterly; others adviſed to admit two or three of the confederates and no more; but the opinion of thoſe prevailed who thought that, at preſent, it would be imprudent to furniſh them with any juſt ground of offence, by denying them a privilege to which every inhabitant of the Netherlands was intitled; eſpecially as they were without arms, and no danger could be apprehended from admitting them.

THEY entered Bruſſels in the beginning of April one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſix, in number between three and four hundred, on horſeback. Beſides count Brederode, who was deſcended from the ancient earls of Holland, there were the counts Colemberg and Treſemberg, the marquis of Mons, the baron of Montigny, and count Lewis of Naſſau, brother to the prince of Orange; all of them perſons of conſiderable influence in the provinces.

THEY went in a body, walking two by two, from the houſe of count Colemberg to the palace, and were received there by the regent, attended by the council of ſtate.

Petition of the nobles.

THEY began their petition with declaring, "That as hitherto they had never failed in loyalty to the king, ſo they were ſtill as much as ever determined to hold faſt their allegiance. They were ſenſible that their preſent conduct might be miſconſtrued; but they choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to this riſk, than not inform the regent of what they were convinced was of the higheſt conſequence to the intereſt both of the king and the provinces. The ſolicitude which the king had diſcovered to preſerve religion pure in the Netherlands, deſerved the higheſt praiſe; but experience had ſhewn, that the remedies employed for this purpoſe

contributed only to increaſe the diſeaſe. They had long flattered themſelves with hopes, that the States would have been aſſembled, to deviſe means more likely to prove ſucceſsful; but ſince this deſirable event had not taken place, they thought it their duty to inform her, that if the meaſures of government reſpecting religion were not quickly altered, they were perſuaded it would be impoſſible to prevent a general inſurrection. It was therefore their earneſt deſire, that ſhe would ſend ſome proper perſons to the king, to acquaint him with the neceſſity of ſoftening the rigour of the edicts; and they intreated her to ſuſpend the execution of them till his pleaſure ſhould be known. But if no regard, they added, ſhall be paid to this our humble and moſt earneſt prayer, we call God and the king, your highneſs, and theſe your illuſtrious counſellors, to witneſs, that we have given warning of the impending danger, and ſhall not be accountable for the calamities that may enſue[t]."

Anſwer of the regent.

To this petition the regent gave the following anſwer in writing: "That ſhe was not inveſted by the king with power to ſuſpend the execution of the edicts; but that ſhe was not averſe from ſending ſome proper perſon to Spain, where ſhe would willingly employ her good offices to procure them ſatisfaction. That, in the mean time, ſhe would iſſue orders to the inquiſitors to proceed in the exerciſe of their office with moderation; and that, in return for her conceſſions, ſhe expected that the petitioners would ſtudy carefully to avoid all occaſion of offence."

THE confederates, much diſſatisfied with this anſwer, inſiſted earneſtly upon receiving one that was more explicit; and the regent, dreading the conſequences of ſending them away in ill-hu-

[t] Bentivoglio and Brandt.

mour,

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mour, ordered her ſecretary to communicate to them the inſtructions which, after conſidering the matter more maturely, ſhe had reſolved to tranſmit to the inquiſitors. Theſe were, that henceforth they ſhould proceed againſt offenders in the article of religion with the utmoſt gentleneſs; and ſhould not puniſh any of them with baniſhment, impriſonment, or confiſcation, unleſs they were found guilty of ſeditious practices. And theſe inſtructions, it was added, were to remain in force till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known. The confederates, on the other hand, engaged, not to attempt to make any innovation in religious matters, but to wait patiently for the determination of the aſſembly of the States; which, they fondly flattered themſelves, would be held ſoon, in order to put an end to all their grievances.

The marquis of Mons and the baron of Montigny ſent to Spain.

AGREEABLY to her firſt declarations, the regent immediately diſpatched the marquis of Mons and the baron of Montigny, to lay the petition before the king. And theſe two noblemen gladly undertook the taſk aſſigned them; little ſuſpecting either how fruitleſs their journey was to prove, as to the intention of it, or how fatal to themſelves. For, as will appear in the ſequel, Philip did not conſider them as the regent's ambaſſadors, but as perſons who had brought her under the diſagreeable neceſſity of clothing them with that character, and as the heads of a confederacy which had been formed againſt his government.

The intemperate zeal of the reformers.

IN the mean time a report was propagated in the Netherlands, that the regent had conſented to the public profeſſion of the reformed religion. In the belief of this, the people threw off the reſerve which they had hitherto maintained, and the proteſtant miniſters preached in many places to numerous aſſemblies of perſons, who came together in arms, with a reſolution to defend

themſelves, in caſe the inquiſitors ſhould attempt to interrupt them. From theſe aſſemblies they ſoon paſſed to open violence againſt the churches, and deſpoiled them of all their coſtly ornaments.

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THESE outrages were firſt committed in the province of Flanders; and the example of the Flemings was quickly diffuſed throughout all the provinces. In a little time afterwards the ſame tumultuous ſpirit appeared in the great commercial towns; in which, from their frequent intercourſe with foreign proteſtants, and from the ſpirit of liberty that naturally grows up in large communities, almoſt the whole body of the people had embraced the new opinions.

IN Antwerp the reformers indulged themſelves in the moſt unjuſtifiable extravagancies. They inſulted the catholics when employed in the functions of their religion. They broke furiouſly into the great church, which was one of the richeſt edifices in Europe, overturned the altars, defaced the paintings, and deſtroyed all the images of the ſaints.

FROM the cathedral they flew with the ſame ungovernable fury to the monaſteries and convents; and there, after forcing open the gates, and obliging the monks and nuns to fly into the city for ſhelter, it appeared that, under the cover of religious zeal, many of the moſt abandoned of the people had joined with the reformers, and embraced the preſent opportunity of gratifying their rapacity. The ſame riotous ſpirit appeared in numberleſs other places. It ſpread like a conflagration over all the provinces; meeting everywhere with the ſame combuſtible materials, and everywhere producing the ſame pernicious effects.

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In Bruſſels they were overawed by the preſence of the court: yet even there, they had in ſome meaſure thrown off their wonted reſerve; and the regent, apprehenſive that her perſon was in danger, reſolved to reſide in Mons. This reſolution gave much uneaſineſs to the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn; who ſaw how much diſhonour it would reflect on them, to have it believed that the perſon of the princeſs was inſecure, where *they* were inveſted with ſuch high command, and poſſeſſed ſuch extenſive influence. They employed every argument that could prevail upon her to alter her intention. They pledged their lives and fortunes for her ſafety; and promiſed to exert their utmoſt power in quelling thoſe diſorders which were the cauſe of her inquietude. At length ſhe yielded to their intreaties, and conſented ſtill to remain at Bruſſels [u].

The ſucceſs and zeal of the prince of Orange in quelling the tumults.

The ſeveral governors ſoon after ſet out for their reſpective provinces. The prince of Orange, beſides being governor of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Burgundy, was viſcount and governor of Antwerp. And even the popiſh hiſtorians acknowledge, that, having often gone thither, he had exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in quieting the tumults occaſioned by the intemperate zeal of the reformers. At this time he ordered three of the rioters to be executed, and fined and baniſhed ſeveral of the reſt. He again opened the great church, and reſtored the exerciſe of the catholic religion.

Auguſt.

But finding it impoſſible to prevent the proteſtants from holding their religious meetings, he entered into an agreement with the perſons of greateſt influence among them, by which they were allowed to exerciſe their religion in churches within

[u] Bentivoglio, Brandt, &c.

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the city, provided that they ſhould come together without arms; that they ſhould give no annoyance to the catholics; and that their preachers ſhould refrain from all invectives againſt the eſtabliſhed church. And he conſented that this agreement ſhould remain in force till he ſhould know the pleaſure of the king; to whom the proteſtants engaged to ſubmit, or immediately to leave the Netherlands.

THE regent approved of every part of William's conduct on this occaſion, except his allowing the reformers to hold their meetings within the town. In order to ſatisfy her on this head, he repreſented, that he had granted them this indulgence from a conviction which experience had already confirmed, that by means of it he could more eaſily prevent the pernicious effects of their extravagance; that when they were under his own eye, or that of the magiſtrates, their aſſemblies were not near ſo numerous as formerly; their preachers were not ſo apt to indulge their enthuſiaſm, or to uſe indecent freedoms with the government; nor the people ſo apt to be inflamed, as when they aſſembled without reſtraint in the open fields. This meaſure, he added, was not only expedient, but neceſſary. There was no room for authority or perſuaſion. The reformers had ſhewn themſelves unalterably determined to ſet up their worſhip within the city, whether he had permitted them or not. Their aſſemblies in the country had generally amounted to twenty-four or twenty-five thouſand. Even in the town they were ſeldom leſs than ten thouſand. He had no army to reduce ſo great a number to obedience; and not a ſingle perſon among the catholic inhabitants could be perſuaded to take up arms againſt them [v].

[v] Brandt. Van Meteren, lib. ii.

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AFTER quieting the diſturbances in Antwerp, the prince ſet out for the provinces of Holland and Zealand, where his preſence was equally neceſſary. There too, as in Antwerp, he employed all his power and influence; and did more towards quelling the tumultuous ſpirit of the reformers, than any other perſon could have done, without an armed force to overawe them. He perſuaded them to reſtore the churches which they had uſurped; and, except in one or two places, they were ſatisfied with the liberty which the regent was willing to allow, of holding their aſſemblies for religious worſhip in the ſuburbs of the towns, or in the country.

Count Egmont's ſucceſs.

COUNT Egmont was no leſs active in his department. From natural temper, as well as from political principles, no man was more averſe to harſhneſs and ſeverity; yet being ſtrongly prompted on this occaſion by his deſire of gratifying the king, he was at the utmoſt pains to diſcover the rioters, and puniſhed many of them with rigour. He reſtored the prieſts to their functions, opened the churches which had been ſhut, and reduced all the proteſtants within his government to the neceſſity of acquieſcing in the conditions which the regent had preſcribed.

Count Horn's ſucceſs.

COUNT Horn likewiſe acted with uncommon ſpirit and vigour in the city of Tournay, where the diſorders had riſen to a greater height than in other places. The inhabitants of that city, to the number of ſix thouſand, having taken arms, and laid ſiege to the garriſon, they ſoon reduced it to ſuch extremity, as obliged the commander to inform the regent, that if ſhe did not ſend him immediate relief, he could not hold out longer than one day. She had not troops ſufficient to oppoſe ſo great a force; nor was there any

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any other expedient in her power, by which ſhe could preſerve the garriſon from ſurrendering, but that of ſending count Horn, their governor's [w] brother, to intercede with the inhabitants. The count forced his way, at the hazard of his life, into the midſt of them; and with great addreſs perſuaded them not only to deſiſt from the blockade, but to lay down their arms, to yield up the churches which they had uſurped, and to reſt ſatisfied with certain places of worſhip which he aſſigned them without the city [x].

Grounds of Philip's averſion to theſe noblemen.

FROM this repreſentation of the conduct of the prince of Orange and the counts Horn and Egmont, they had very little reaſon, it ſhould ſeem, to dread the king's diſpleaſure. For they were not leſs active, nor leſs ſucceſsful than the other governors [y], with whom Philip is ſaid to have been entirely ſatisfied. But the diſapprobation which they had diſcovered of his meaſures of government ſome years before; the objections which they had urged againſt his retaining the Spaniſh forces in the Low Countries; the neceſſity to which they had reduced him, of removing Granville; their frequent remonſtrances in the council againſt the inquiſition and edicts; and the attachment which they had ever ſhewn to the liberty and conſtitutional privileges of the provinces: all theſe cauſes had alienated him entirely from them, and had begotten, in his dark revengeful mind, a degree of hatred and reſentment, which neither time, repentance, nor faithful ſervices, could eraſe.

THESE noblemen had been diſappointed of the private, as well as public advantages which they expected to derive from the re-

[w] The Baron de Montigny, at this time in Spain.

[x] Brandt, Meteren, &c.

[y] The Counts Aremberg and Megen.

moval

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moval of Granville. Viglius and count Barlaimont were equally their enemies as the cardinal, and equally diſpoſed to put malicious interpretations on their conduct. In theſe they were powerfully ſeconded by Granville; who, ſome time after his leaving the Netherlands, had been called to Madrid, where he enjoyed his wonted influence. This he did not fail to employ againſt his enemies in the Netherlands; and he found it eaſy to perſuade the king, that in ſecret they had been abettors of all the diſturbances which had ariſen. Philip was therefore fired with indignation againſt them, and reſolved ſooner or later to make them feel the weight of his reſentment. At preſent, however, he thought it neceſſary to conceal his ſentiments; and in his anſwer to the account of the late tranſactions tranſmitted to him by the regent, he expreſſed his gratitude for the zeal that had been diſcovered in his ſervice, and exhorted her, and the governors of the provinces, to continue their endeavours to allay the tumults in the beſt manner which the preſent circumſtances would permit.

Forces levied.

WITH this anſwer he ſent money, and an order for raiſing a body of catholic troops, upon whoſe fidelity he could depend for an abſolute compliance with his will.

THE regent was not remiſs in executing this order. She immediately levied a body of cavalry, and five regiments of infantry; of which ſhe gave the command to the counts Erbeſtain, Charles of Mansfelt, Reuls, Baron Schomberg, and the Sieur de Hierges, ſon of Count Barlaimont.

THE prince of Orange and the counts Horn and Egmont could eaſily diſcern the deſign of this armament; and they declared their diſapprobation of it in the council, as a meaſure calculated to rekindle the flames of diſcord and ſedition.

THEY

1566. Diſcovery of Philip's deſigns.

THEY were at the ſame time informed by letters from the marquis of Mons, and the baron of Montigny, that whatever public anſwer had been ſent from the court of Spain to the dutcheſs of Parma, it was known to every perſon at Madrid, that the king was highly offended at the conceſſions which *they* had made lately to the proteſtants. That they were conſidered as fomenters of the tumults, and encouragers of hereſy. That the king and his miniſters talked now more explicitly than they had hitherto done. The compromiſe had no other name given it but that of a conſpiracy; and the popular inſurrections were never mentioned but as an open rebellion. There was no longer any room to doubt that the king, by the advice of Granville and Alva, was determined to wreck his reſentment on all concerned, and particularly on them, whom he conſidered as the moſt guilty. And although at firſt domeſtic forces only were to be employed, yet their operations would ſoon be ſeconded by thoſe of Spain.

THE prince of Orange had ſeveral times deſired leave of the regent to reſign his employments; alleging, that it was impoſſible for him at once to diſcharge his duty to his country, and to ſatisfy the king. The regent had as often refuſed to conſent to his requeſt; and had accompanied her refuſal with expreſſions of high regard, and with intreaties that he would not forſake her at a time when his aſſiſtance was more than ever neceſſary. On the preſent occaſion he made the ſame application to the king, who gave him the ſame anſwer, and employed the ſame expreſſions of regard and confidence [p].

[p] Bentivoglio. See the letter annexed to William's Apology.

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BUT the prince had received intelligence of Philip's moſt ſecret councils; and knew that his real ſentiments were entirely different from thoſe which he profeſſed. Through a correſpondence which he held in France, he had procured a copy of a letter to the regent, from Alava the Spaniſh miniſter at Paris, which confirmed the information that had been tranſmitted by the marquis of Mons and the baron of Montigny. In this letter, Alava particularly inſiſted on the preſent favourable opportunity of eſtabliſhing in the Low Countries that unlimited authority which the king had long ſo earneſtly deſired. He adviſed the regent, as matters were not yet ripe for execution, to meet the ſmooth faces of Orange, Horn, and Egmont, with the ſame artifice which they had employed; and concluded with informing her, that the king, who knew them to be fomenters of all the diſturbances which had happened, would ſoon pay them the wages of their iniquity; and had ſworn to puniſh *them* and the other inhabitants of the Netherlands in the moſt exemplary manner[q].

1567. Conference at Dendremonde.

THIS letter the prince of Orange communicated to his brother count Lewis, and to the counts Egmont, Horn, Hoogſtraten, and ſeveral others of the nobility; who met together at Dendremonde, to deliberate concerning the meaſures which it would be proper to purſue. Count Lewis, who was naturally bold and ardent, urged that they ſhould immediately incite the people to take up arms; but his brother the prince of Orange diſapproved of this propoſal, and obſerved, that if they ſhould begin to wage war

[q] The concluding words of the letter are, "in a manner, that would make the ears "of all Chriſtendom tingle, even though it ſhould put in danger all the reſt of his dominions." Brandt, 216. Reidanus, p. 3. Meteren, lib. ii.

in

in the preſent ſituation of affairs, they would neither be able to carry it on with ſucceſs, nor to juſtify their conduct in undertaking it. That the inquiſition and edicts were in effect aboliſhed; and a reaſonable liberty allowed in matters of religion. That, conſidering the tumults which had been excited, the regent could not be greatly blamed for raiſing forces; eſpecially ſince ſhe had levied none but ſuch as were natives of the Netherlands. At preſent they could not allege any good reaſon for having recourſe to arms; but he believed that ere long the beſt and ſtrongeſt reaſons would not be wanting. And in the mean time his advice was, not only to be on their guard themſelves, but likewiſe to awaken in the people a ſenſe of the danger with which they were threatened, that they might be prepared for entering upon action when the proper ſeaſon ſhould arrive.

HAD Count Egmont been of the ſame opinion with the prince of Orange on this occaſion, it is not to be doubted that all who were preſent would have concurred in the meaſures which he adviſed; and conſidering the greatneſs of their power and popularity, they might have induced the king to drop his plan, by making him ſenſible of the difficulty of carrying it into execution.

BUT they were all exceedingly diſappointed when they heard Count Egmont declare, "That far from taking part in any meaſure that might be offenſive to the king, he looked upon every ſuch meaſure as equally imprudent and undutiful. That from the enormities which had been committed, the king had ſome reaſon to entertain ſuſpicions of their vigilance. That, for his own part, he was reſolved, if poſſible, to wipe out theſe ſuſpicions, by

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exerting himſelf ſtrenuouſly to reduce the people to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity and obedience; which if he and the other governors could accompliſh in their reſpective provinces, he believed they ſhould hear no more of the Spaniſh forces; for, after what the king had repeatedly told him when in Spain, he could not regard what he had heard of his intention to rob the Netherlands of their liberty."

THE prince of Orange and the other diſcontented lords ſpent ſeveral hours in attempting to bring him over to their opinion, but in vain. Although, as is above related, the count had received ſufficient proof of Philip's inſincerity in his diſcourſe with him at Madrid, yet the concern which he had appeared to take in the intereſt of his family, joined to his profeſſions of perſonal attachment, had impoſed upon him ſo far as to prevent him from perceiving the danger to which he was expoſed[b].

The nobility concur with the regent.

THUS diſappointed of the aſſiſtance of a perſon of ſo great influence, the other lords ſaw that nothing remained for them, but to conciliate Philip's favour, by an active concurrence with the regent in the meaſures which ſhe was about to employ for the perfect ſettlement of the country.

Her ſucceſs in ſuppreſſing the reformers.

A GREAT deal had been already done for this end by the governors of the provinces; but matters were not yet entirely upon the footing on which the regent deſired to have them placed. The zeal of the reformers burnt with too much violence to be reſtrained by the authority of the magiſtrates, and ſtill continued to diſcover itſelf in the moſt unjuſtifiable irregularities; particularly in the city of Valenciennes, where the common people had almoſt univerſally embraced the reformation. The ſtrength

[b] Bentivoglio.

and

and populouſneſs of that city, its neighbourhood to France, and the correſpondence which the people held with the proteſtants in that kingdom, were powerful motives with the regent for deſiring to have a garriſon placed in it, compoſed of thoſe troops which had been lately raiſed. She wiſhed to have had them admitted with the conſent of the inhabitants; but finding that it could not be obtained, ſhe declared them rebels to the king, and ordered the lord of Noircharmes to beſiege the town. The citizens ſeemed at firſt reſolved to defend themſelves; but when they ſaw the batteries ready to play, their courage failed, and they ſurrendered the city at diſcretion. Noircharmes no ſooner entered it, than he ordered the governor and his ſon, the proteſtant miniſters, and ſeveral of the inhabitants who had been the moſt active in the late diſturbances, to be put to death; after which, having prohibited the public exerciſe of the reformed religion, he left a ſtrong garriſon in the place, under the command of a rigid catholic.

THE ſucceſs of the regent's arms filled the proteſtants with terror, and inſpired the catholics with freſh courage and reſolution. She was not leſs ſucceſsful in Tournay, Bois le Duc, and many other places. She even perſuaded the city of Antwerp to receive a garriſon, by means of which the catholic party acquired ſo great authority, and the reformers were ſo much intimidated, that, without oppoſition, ſhe baniſhed all the proteſtant preachers, and aboliſhed the exerciſe of their religion [e].

COUNT Brederode and ſome others of the confederated lords had recourſe at this time to their firſt expedient of a petition or remonſtrance. Count Brederode.

[e] Bentivoglio, p. 47.

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remonſtrance. But neither the regent nor the confederates were now in the ſame ſituation as formerly. She had no longer any reaſon to be afraid of them, ſince ſhe was ſo well provided with an armed force; and many of them having before this time become ſenſible of their weakneſs, had ſtudied to convince her that they were now entirely devoted to her ſervice.

COUNT Brederode deſired to be admitted into her preſence, but this ſhe refuſed; and vouchſafed no other anſwer to his petition, but "That he, and thoſe who concurred with him, had wreſted her conceſſions into a ſenſe which ſhe had never meant; and, by encouraging riots and tumults, had broken their agreement with her, and thereby forfeited their title to complain [d]."

FROM this anſwer Brederode perceived there was no other reſource left him but force of arms. Reſolved to try his fortune in this way, he went immediately into Holland, and having drawn together a body of troops, he fortified himſelf in the town of Vianen. But the counts Aremberg and Megen coming ſuddenly upon him, he was ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of retiring into Germany. He returned to the Low-Countries in the year following, and died in the town of Harnhoff [e]. He was a perſon much reſpected by the proteſtants, but appears to have poſſeſſed more zeal than capacity, and to have been in no reſpect qualified to be the leader of a party.

Tranquillity eſtabliſhed.

AFTER Count Brederode was expelled, the reformers had nowhere courage to lift their heads. The ſtorm which had raged with ſo much fury was ſucceeded by a perfect calm. The churches

[d] Brandt and Bentivoglio. [e] Brandt.

were repaired, the altars reſtored, the images replaced, and the magiſtrates reſpected and obeyed, in the ſame manner as before the diſturbances began; while the diſcontented lords ſeemed now to have no other ambition, but to ſurpaſs one another in giving proofs of their attachment to the regent, and of their zeal in the ſervice of the church and of the king [f].

[f] Bentivoglio, p. 48.

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER II.

OF

HISTORY.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK VIII.

WHILE the dutcheſs of Parma was thus ſucceſsfully employed in quieting the diſturbances in the Netherlands, Philip was only deliberating on the ſubject. The regent had joined with the confederated lords in repreſenting, that his preſence would prove the moſt effectual remedy for the evils which prevailed; and this was the opinion too of ſome of his Spaniſh miniſters. He had long talked as if he intended to comply with their counſel. He had even given orders for preparing ſhips for his voyage, and all Europe was in expectations of its taking place. But if he was ever ſerious in propoſing it, he was eaſily induced to alter his intention, by the dread of thoſe inconveniencies or dangers with which he apprehended it might be accompanied. Theſe inconveniencies and dangers would have been diſregarded by the late emperor; who undertook a journey to the Nether-

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1567. Deliberations at the court of Spain.

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lands, and put himſelf in the power of Francis, his rival and antagoniſt, in order to quell an inſurrection in the city of Ghent. But Philip had neither the ſame perſonal courage and activity as Charles, nor that degree of affection for his ſubjects in the Low-Countries, which was neceſſary to make him expoſe himſelf to danger on their account; and through his whole reign he choſe rather to iſſue forth orders from his cabinet, than to execute his ſchemes in perſon[a].

Philip reſolves to ſend the duke of Alva to the Netherlands.

HAVING therefore reſolved not to go to the Netherlands himſelf, it remained for him to determine, whether he ſhould ſend thither an army, to compel the people to ſubmit to his will, and to puniſh them for their diſobedience; or ſhould liſten to their remonſtrances and complaints. His counſellors differed widely in their opinions from each other. The duke of Feria and the prince of Evoli adviſed him to aboliſh the inquiſition and edicts, and to make trial of gentler and more indulgent methods of dealing with the reformers; ſince he had ſufficiently experienced that ſevere ones were not likely to be attended with ſucceſs. But the duke of Alva, on the other hand, and cardinal Granvelle, repreſented, that nothing but too much lenity in the treatment of the heretics in the Low-Countries had been the cauſe of that inſolence, and thoſe enormities, in which they had diſcovered an equal contempt of the true religion and of the royal authority. This was not the proper ſeaſon, they alleged, for the exerciſe of clemency. The king had too long received laws from the Netherlands, inſtead of giving them. The people in theſe provinces had long and loudly boaſted of their privileges. If they were not ſpeedily chaſtiſed for their inſolence and preſumption, they would ere long diſpute

[a] Bentivoglio, ann. 1567. Herrera, lib. ix.

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the king's having any right to command them, and form themſelves into an independent ſtate, in oppoſition to *him*, as the Swiſs Cantons had done formerly in oppoſition to his German anceſtors; or, which was ſtill more likely, the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, would, under the pretence of defending the liberties of the people, reduce them under their own power, and divide the ſeveral provinces as a prey among themſelves. Beſides, what happier opportunity, ſaid Alva, can be wiſhed for than the preſent, for introducing an army into the Low Countries, in order to eſtabliſh the royal authority there on the ſame deſirable footing as in Spain and Italy [b]?

No arguments could be better ſuited to the temper and inclinations of the king; and accordingly, without further heſitation, he reſolved to ſend to the Netherlands a ſtrong and well diſciplined army, under the command of the duke of Alva, whom, from long experience, he knew to be qualified in every reſpect for executing the plan of tyranny and oppreſſion which he was determined to purſue.

The regen remonſtrates againſt it.

In the mean time the dutcheſs of Parma had reduced the affairs of the Low Countries into the ſituation which is above deſcribed. She ſent ſpeedy information to the king of the ſucceſs with which her endeavours had been accompanied; and repreſented to him, that there was not now the leaſt occaſion for the army which he had begun to prepare, ſince the tumults were allayed, the rioters puniſhed, the heretics ſilenced, the church reinſtated in its wonted authority, garriſons put into ſuſpected places, and the whole country ſettled in a ſtate of perfect order and tranquillity.

[b] Bentivoglio.

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[a] Bentivoglio, ann. 1567. Herrera, lib. ix.

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the king's having any right to command them, and form themſelves into an independent ſtate, in oppoſition to *him*, as the Swiſs Cantons had done formerly in oppoſition to his German anceſtors; or, which was ſtill more likely, the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, would, under the pretence of defending the liberties of the people, reduce them under their own power, and divide the ſeveral provinces as a prey among themſelves. Beſides, what happier opportunity, ſaid Alva, can be wiſhed for than the preſent, for introducing an army into the Low Countries, in order to eſtabliſh the royal authority there on the ſame deſirable footing as in Spain and Italy [b]?

No arguments could be better ſuited to the temper and inclinations of the king; and accordingly, without further heſitation, he reſolved to ſend to the Netherlands a ſtrong and well diſciplined army, under the command of the duke of Alva, whom, from long experience, he knew to be qualified in every reſpect for executing the plan of tyranny and oppreſſion which he was determined to purſue.

The regen remonſtrates againſt it.

In the mean time the dutcheſs of Parma had reduced the affairs of the Low Countries into the ſituation which is above deſcribed. She ſent ſpeedy information to the king of the ſucceſs with which her endeavours had been accompanied; and repreſented to him, that there was not now the leaſt occaſion for the army which he had begun to prepare, ſince the tumults were allayed, the rioters puniſhed, the heretics ſilenced, the church reinſtated in its wonted authority, garriſons put into ſuſpected places, and the whole country ſettled in a ſtate of perfect order and tranquillity.

[b] Bentivoglio.

BOOK VII.

1567. Philip's motives.

HAD Philip been in reality influenced by the motives which he pretended, he would, on receiving this intelligence, have countermanded the orders which he had iſſued for the march of the troops. But in iſſuing theſe orders it is impoſſible to believe, that he was prompted either by zeal for religion, or concern for the welfare of his Flemiſh ſubjects; but partly by the ambition of eſtabliſhing among them a deſpotic government on the ruins of their ancient conſtitution, (a meaſure which the diſtance of the Netherlands from his ſeat of empire muſt have rendered particularly deſirable to a prince of ſo imperious a temper) and partly by an implacable reſentment againſt the prince of Orange and the other lords, who had diſcovered a jealouſy of his deſigns.

REGARDLESS, therefore, of the change which the affairs in the Netherlands had lately undergone, Philip preſiſted in his purpoſe. The duke of Alva went by ſea for Italy, and thence, after having aſſembled the ſeveral bodies of troops which were cantoned there, amounting to eight thouſand foot and one thouſand five hundred horſe, he directed his march towards the Low-Countries, firſt through the territories of the duke of Savoy, and then through Burgundy and Lorrain. His army was augmented on its march, by the addition of three hundred Burgundian cavalry, and four thouſand German foot, and ſoon reached the province of Luxemburg, without meeting with any moleſtation by the way. After putting garriſons in ſome of the frontier towns, he ſet out for Bruſſels, where he arrived in the month of Auguſt one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſeven [c].

The aſtoniſhment excited by the arrival of Alva and the Spaniards.

HIS arrival ſpread great conſternation and aſtoniſhment over all the provinces. Many thouſand perſons had before this time

[c] Herrera, lib. ix c. 3.

left

left the Netherlands; among whom was the prince of Orange, who, having long foreſeen the impending ſtorm, had withdrawn with his family and friends to his county of Naſſau in Germany. He knew well how inveterate thoſe prejudices were, which the king had for ſeveral years entertained againſt him; and could not account for his ſending to the Low-Countries ſo formidable an army, commanded by a man ſo tyrannical as Alva, without ſuppoſing that he was determined to rule the people with a rod of iron; and, at the ſame time, to wreck his vengeance upon him, and all ſuch of the nobility as had ventured to diſpute his will.

The prince of Orange retires to Germany.

THE prince would gladly have prevailed upon count Egmont to accompany him, and endeavoured to open his eyes to the approaching danger. He repeated the evidence which he had formerly laid before him of the king's intentions, and he reminded him of the imperious character of Alva; who, from being their enemy and rival, was become their maſter, and would not fail to employ his power to accompliſh their ruin. But count Egmont was the father of a numerous family, which he could not ſupport with dignity in any other country but the Netherlands. Conſcious too of his fidelity, and of the important ſervices which he had performed to the king, he could not be perſuaded that Philip was inſincere in the profeſſions of friendſhip which he had made to him in Spain; nor could he believe that he would indulge his reſentment any farther, than to puniſh thoſe who had been concerned in the late diſorders.

THE prince of Orange finding the count inflexible, left him, with theſe words: "You are the bridge, count Egmont, by which the duke of Alva will paſs into the Netherlands, and he will no

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ſooner paſs it, than he will break it down. You will repent of deſpiſing the warning which I have given you, but I dread that your repentance will be too late."

In the interval between the departure of the prince of Orange in April one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſeven, and the arrival of the duke of Alva in the month of Auguſt following, count Egmont perceived his importance much diminiſhed; but he reſolved to ſubmit to his preſent diſagreeable ſituation, and even humbled himſelf ſo far as to receive and welcome Alva in the province of Luxemburg, where he made him a preſent of two fine horſes, as a mark of his deſire to live with him on amicable terms. Alva received this preſent with the haughtineſs that was natural to him; but in all his behaviour towards the count, he diſſembled his intention, till he was prepared to put it in execution.

Impriſonment of the counts Egmont and Horn.

One of his firſt acts after his arrival at Bruſſels was, to caſt both count Egmont and count Horn into priſon. As the deed itſelf was tyrannical, ſo the manner of it was inſidious. Count Egmont having been firſt deceived himſelf, was employed to draw count Horn into the ſnare [d]. When Alva found that their apprehenſions were laid aſleep, he deſired one day that they would come to his houſe, to give him their opinion with regard to a citadel which he propoſed to build in Antwerp; and after the buſineſs for which they had been called was over, they were carried on different pretences into ſeparate apartments, count Egmont by Alva himſelf, and count Horn by his ſon Frederic de Toledo. "Count Egmont," ſaid Alva, "deliver your ſword; it is the will of the king that you give it up, and go to priſon." The count, aſtoniſhed at this

September.

[d] Strada, p. 215.

unexpected

1567.

unexpected declaration, would have attempted to eſcape; but obſerving himſelf immediately ſurrounded by Alva's guards, he delivered his ſword, ſaying, "By this ſword the cauſe of the king has been oftener than once ſucceſsfully defended[e]." Both he and count Horn proteſted, that, as knights of the Golden Fleece, they could be judged only by their peers, and impriſoned only by their authority. But no regard was paid to this proteſtation. They were hurried away to priſon, in a place at a diſtance from Bruſſels, and out of the confines of the province where they reſided; in violation of a ſacred privilege, which, by a fundamental law, belonged even to the loweſt of the people[f].

The people fly into foreign parts.

INTELLIGENCE of this event (which was immediately followed by the impriſonment of count Egmont's ſecretary, the lord of Bickerzel, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction) was ſoon conveyed to the remoteſt corners of the Netherlands, and filled the minds of the catholics as well as proteſtants with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions. It was no ſecurity, they ſaw, againſt the king's reſentment, to have adhered to the profeſſion of the catholic faith, nor even to have been active in oppoſing the reformers. None were conſcious of ſo much merit of this kind, and none had diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo highly in the ſervice of the king, as thoſe illuſtrious perſons who were now devoted to deſtruction. Men therefore of all ranks were greatly alarmed, and began to abandon their habitations; and it was computed that, at this time, and a little before Alva's arrival, more than a hundred thouſand perſons fled into foreign parts. Great numbers of theſe were the moſt induſtrious of the people, who transferred their knowledge of arts and manufactures into the countries which gave them refuge;

[e] Strada, p. 215.

[f] Grotius and Bentivoglio.

and

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and thereby enriched the dominions of Philip's enemies whilſt they impoveriſhed his own [g].

The dutcheſs of Parma leaves the Netherlands.

THE impriſonment of the counts Horn and Egmont was matter of ſurpriſe to no perſon ſo much as to the regent. Philip had aſſured her, that although he had conferred on Alva the command of the army, yet the authority of the regent was ſtill to remain in her hands; and the royal commiſſion which Alva produced on his firſt arrival, was agreeable to this declaration. But ſhe could not perſuade herſelf that the duke would have preſumed to make ſo violent an encroachment on her prerogative, by the impriſonment of two of the firſt perſons in the ſtate, unleſs he had been inveſted with an authority much ſuperior to that of which ſhe had been informed. The king had not been ingenuous, ſhe ſuſpected, in his conduct towards her, and had conferred powers on Alva by which her authority as regent was impaired. This ſhe conſidered as a proof that Philip had liſtened to the calumnies of her enemies, and did not repoſe in her that truſt and confidence which ſhe was conſcious her zeal to promote his intereſt had deſerved. She judged that it would be derogatory to her honour, to remain any longer in the Netherlands; and immediately applied for liberty to retire. After repeated ſolicitations, ſhe at length obtained permiſſion, and left Bruſſels in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, much regretted by all the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and particularly by the proteſtants, to whom her adminiſtration appeared mild and gentle, when they compared it with that which they had reaſon to expect under their preſent government [h].

[g] Van Meteren, p. 80.

[h] Bentivoglio and Strada.

AFTER

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Alva's abſolute authority.

AFTER the departure of the dutcheſs of Parma, the authority of regent remained entire in the hands of Alva; and by the royal mandate, which he publiſhed, it appeared, that Philip had veſted him with higher powers than had ever been beſtowed on any former governor. They were much higher than as ſovereign of the Low-Countries he had a right to beſtow, and were utterly ſubverſive of all the laws and privileges which at his inauguration he had ſolemnly ſworn to maintain. But before this time he had had recourſe to that method of juſtifying iniquity, of which the votaries of the Romiſh church have ſo often availed themſelves; he had obtained from the pope a diſpenſation from his oath, and no longer diſguiſed his intention to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government in the Netherlands, on the ruins of the ancient conſtitution. Beſides the abſolute command of the army, Alva's commiſſion bore, that the king had conferred upon him the preſidency of the three councils, of ſtate, of juſtice, and the finances; with full power to puniſh or to pardon crimes of every ſort, as he ſhould judge to be expedient.

HE began his adminiſtration with publiſhing a declaration, that a month ſhould be allowed to the reformers for preparing to leave the country, without receiving during that ſpace any trouble or moleſtation; and at the ſame time he iſſued ſecret orders to the inquiſitors to proceed immcdiately in the execution of their edicts with the utmoſt rigour.

The council of tumults.

TO aſſiſt and encourage theſe men in the exerciſe of their office, he inſtituted a new council, to which he gave the name of the Council of Tumults, which he appointed to take cognizance of the late diſorders, and to ſearch after and puniſh all thoſe who had been concerned directly or indirectly in promoting them.

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This council conſiſted of twelve perſons, the greateſt part of whom were Spaniards. The duke was the preſident himſelf, and in his abſence, Vargas, a Spaniſh lawyer, diſtinguiſhed above all his countrymen by his avarice and cruelty [i].

First deed of the council.

ONE of the firſt deeds of this tribunal, which might well be called, as the Flemings termed it, the Council of Blood, was to declare, That to have preſented, or ſubſcribed any petition againſt the late erection of biſhoprics, or againſt the edicts and inquiſition, or to have permitted the exerciſe of the new religion under any pretence whatever; or to inſinuate by word of mouth or writing, that the king has no right to aboliſh thoſe pretended privileges which have been the ſource of ſo much impiety, is treaſon againſt the king, and juſtly merits the ſevereſt puniſhment he ſhall be pleaſed to inflict [k].

The perſecutions.

THE governor had already ſtationed his army in ſuch a manner as he thought would moſt effectually ſecure the execution of this cruel, undiſtinguiſhing reſolution of the council. In Antwerp he built a citadel, and compelled the inhabitants to defray the expence which this inſtrument of their own ſlavery had coſt him. He began to build citadels in other places; and, in the mean time, he ſpread his troops over the country in ſuch formidable bodies, that the people, over whom they exerciſed the moſt oppreſſive tyranny, either forſook their habitations, or gave themſelves up to deſpair. Above twenty thouſand perſons eſcaped at this time into France, England, and the proteſtant provinces of Germany [l]. Great numbers were prevented from flying, and ſeized whilſt they were meditating flight by the cruel hand of the perſecutor. The

[i] Brandt, p. 260. 265, &c. Van Meteren, lib. iii.
[k] Van Meteren, lib. iii. p. 66.
[l] Brandt and Bentivoglio.

innocent

innocent were overwhelmed with horror at the ſight of the dreadful puniſhments inflicted on the guilty; and lamented that this once flouriſhing country, ſo much diſtinguiſhed for the mildneſs of its government and the happineſs of its people, ſhould now preſent no other object to view, but confiſcations, impriſonments, and blood [m].

THERE was no diſtinction made of age, ſex, or condition. Perſons in their earlieſt youth; perſons worn out, and ready to ſink under the infirmities of age; perſons of the higheſt rank, as well as the loweſt of the people, on the ſlighteſt evidence, and ſometimes even on bare ſuſpicion, were alike ſacrificed to the rapacity and cruelty of the governor and his aſſociates.

Cruelty of Alva and his aſſociates.

ALTHOUGH in the ſpace of a few months upwards of eighteen hundred perſons ſuffered by the hand of the executioner; yet the duke of Alva's thirſt of blood was not ſatiated. Priſoners were not brought in ſo faſt, nor ſeized in ſuch conſiderable numbers, as he deſired. The time of Carnival was approaching, when he expected that he ſhould find the reformers off their guard. They would then leave their ſkulking-places, he ſuppoſed, and viſit their families, while the catholics were immerſed in mirth and diſſipation. On this occaſion his ſoldiers, accompanied by the inquiſitors, like ſo many wolves, were let looſe among the proteſtants; who were ſeized in the middle of the night in their beds, and from thence dragged to priſons and dungeons.

MANY who had been only once preſent at the proteſtant aſſemblies, even although they declared their faith in the catholic religion to be firm and unſhaken, were hanged or

[m] Bentivoglio, p. 58.

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drowned; while thoſe who profeſſed themſelves to be proteſtants, or refuſed to abjure their religion, were put to the rack, in order to make them diſcover their aſſociates; they were then dragged by horſes to the place of execution, and their bodies being committed to the flames, their ſufferings were prolonged with ingenious cruelty.

To prevent them from bearing teſtimony, in the midſt of their torments, to the truth of their profeſſion, their executioners were not ſatisfied with barely confining their tongues; they firſt ſcorched them with a glowing iron, and then ſcrewed them into a machine, contrived on purpoſe to produce the moſt excruciating pain[n].

It is ſhocking to recount the numberleſs inſtances of inhuman cruelty perpetrated by Alva and his aſſociates, eſpecially when we conſider that the unhappy victims were not thoſe hardened wretches, who, by daring and bloody deeds, are guilty of violating the laws of nature and humanity, but were generally perſons of the moſt inoffenſive characters; who, having imbibed the new opinions in religion, had too much probity to diſguiſe their ſentiments; or, at the worſt, had been betrayed into indiſcretions by their zeal for propagating truths, which they believed to be of the higheſt importance to the glory of God and the happineſs of men.

Alva communicated a great ſhare of his ſavage ſpirit to the inferiour magiſtrates; who knew that they could not recommend themſelves more effectually either to the king or to the governor, than by the exerciſe of rigour and ſeverity. Several of them, however, whoſe humanity prevailed over the conſiderations of ſafety and intereſt, were induced to give the proteſtants timely warning to withdraw. Even the members of

[n] Brandt and Van Meteren, p. 69.

the

the bloody council began to feel their hearts revolt againſt the reiterated inſtances of cruelty, to which their ſanction was required. Some of them applied for diſmiſſion; others had the courage to abſent themſelves; and out of the twelve, of which the council was compoſed, there were ſeldom above three or four preſent °.

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Alva's tyranny and arrogance.

ABOUT this time the magiſtrates of Antwerp, whoſe behaviour from the beginning of Alva's adminiſtration had been extremely obſequious, thought they might venture to interpoſe in favour of certain citizens whom the inquiſitors had impriſoned. Their petition was conceived in the humbleſt terms; and they repreſented, that although the perſons for whom they pleaded, had been preſent two or three times in the proteſtant aſſemblies, yet it was only curioſity that led them thither; they were ſtill true ſons of the church, and faithful ſubjects to the king; and they had remained in the country till the time of their impriſonment, on the faith of the declaration which the governor had made, that they ſhould not receive any diſturbance on account of what had paſſed, till the expiration of a month after his arrival in the Netherlands.

To this petition Alva haughtily replied, That he was amazed at their folly in preſuming to apply to him in behalf of heretics; and they ſhould have reaſon, he added, to repent bitterly of their conduct, if they did not act more prudently in future; for

° This appears from the ſentences which they paſſed. Many of theſe were ſubſcribed only by two or three; as that, for inſtance, againſt Anthony Van Stralen, which was ſigned only by Vargas and two others. Except during the firſt two or three months, Alva ſeldom attended, but all the ſentences were dictated by him; and his preſence was rendered unneceſſary by the active and unrelenting cruelty of Vargas. Grimeſtone.

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they might reſt aſſured, that he would hang them all, for an example to deter others from the like preſumption [p].

NOTWITHSTANDING this, ſome of the catholic nobility, and Viglius, who had formerly concurred in all the arbitrary meaſures of Granville, but whoſe heart melted at the preſent miſery of his countrymen, had the courage to remonſtrate to the king againſt the governor's barbarity. Even the pope exhorted him to greater moderation. Philip, however, refuſed to countermand the orders which he had given, till he ſhould hear from Vargas; who adviſed him to perſevere in the plan which he had adopted, aſſured him of its ſucceſs, and at the ſame time flattered him with the hopes of an inexhauſtible fund of wealth that would ariſe from confiſcation. Vargas being ſeconded by the inquiſitors at Madrid, Philip lent a deaf ear to the remonſtrance which had been made to him, and the perſecutions were continued with the ſame unrelenting fury as before [q].

Hiſtory of Don Carlos.

THE people of the Netherlands were confirmed in their deſpair of obtaining mercy from Philip, by the accounts tranſmitted to them at this time from Spain, of his cruel treatment of his ſon Don Carlos. Various relations are given of that tragical and myſterious affair by the contemporary hiſtorians; but the following appears the moſt conſiſtent and probable. This young prince had from his earlieſt youth been noted for the impetuoſity and violence of his temper; and though he never gave reaſon to think favourably of his underſtanding, or his capacity for government, he had diſcovered the moſt intemperate ambition to be admitted by his father to a ſhare in the adminiſtration of his dominions. Philip, whether from jealouſy or a con-

[p] Brandt, p. 265.

[q] Brandt. Thuanus, c. xliii. p. 9.

viction

viction of his ſon's unfitneſs for any important truſt, refuſed to gratify his ambition, and behaved towards him with diſtance and reſerve; while he gave all his confidence to the duke of Alva, Ruy Gomez de Sylva, and the preſident Spinoſa; againſt whom Don Carlos, partly on this account, and partly becauſe he conſidered them as ſpies upon his conduct, had conceived the moſt irreconcilable averſion. In this diſpoſition he did not ſcruple, on different occaſions, to cenſure the meaſures of his father's government, and particularly thoſe which had been adopted in the Netherlands. He had ſometimes expreſſed his compaſſion for the people there; had threatened the duke of Alva, and even made an attempt upon his life, for accepting the government; had been ſuſpected of holding ſecret interviews with the marquis of Mons and the baron de Montigny; and had afterwards formed the deſign of retiring into the Netherlands, with an intention to put himſelf at the head of the malcontents. 1567.

Of this deſign intelligence was carried by ſome of the courtiers to the king; who, after having conſulted with the inquiſitors at Madrid, as he uſually did in matters of great importance and difficulty, reſolved to prevent the prince from putting his ſcheme in execution, by depriving him of his liberty. For this purpoſe he went into his chamber in the middle of the night attended by ſome of his privy-counſellors and guards; and, after reproaching him with his undutiful behaviour, told him that he had come to exerciſe his paternal correction and chaſtiſement. Then having diſmiſſed all his attendants, he commanded him to be clothed in a dark-coloured mourning dreſs, and appointed guards to watch over him, and to confine him to his chamber. The high-ſpirited young prince was extremely ſhocked at ſuch unworthy treatment, 1568.

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ment, and prayed his father and his attendants to put an immediate end to his life. He threw himſelf headlong into the fire, and would have put an end to his life had he not been prevented by the guards. During his confinement, his deſpair and anguiſh roſe to a degree of frenzy. He would faſt ſometimes for whole days together, then eat voraciouſly, and endeavour to choke himſelf by ſwallowing his victuals without chewing. Several princes interceded for his releaſe, as did many of the principal Spaniſh nobles. But the father was relentleſs and inexorable. After ſix months impriſonment, he cauſed the inquiſition of Madrid to paſs ſentence againſt his ſon, and, under the cover of that ſentence, ordered poiſon to be given him, which in a few hours put a period to his miſerable life, at the age of twenty-three [r].

February.

PHILIP had, before this time, given a proof of the cruelty of his diſpoſition; when, as above related, he choſe to be preſent at the execution of his proteſtant ſubjects in Spain. His ſingular conduct on that occaſion, and the compoſure with which he beheld the torments of the unhappy ſufferers, were aſcribed by ſome to the power of ſuperſtition; while they were regarded by others, as the moſt convincing evidence of the ſincerity of his zeal for the true religion. But his ſeverity towards his ſon did not admit of any ſuch interpretation. It was conſidered by all the world as a proof that his heart was dead to the ſentiments of natural affection and humanity; and his ſubjects were every where filled with aſtoniſhment. It ſtruck terror in a particular manner into the inhabitants of the Low-Countries; who ſaw how vain it was to expect mercy from a prince, who

[r] Compare Thuanus, lib. xliii. c. viii. with Strada, lib. vii. p. 225, &c.

had ſo obſtinately refuſed to exerciſe it towards his own ſon; whoſe only crime, they believed, was his attachment to them, and his compaſſion for their calamities.

The prince of Orange cited to ſtand his trial.

THIS unhappy people had no reſource left but in the wiſdom, public ſpirit, and extenſive influence of the prince of Orange. Soon after the duke of Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, William had been cited to appear before him; and a declaration had been publiſhed by Alva, in the name of the king, that in caſe of his appearance, the utmoſt lenity would be ſhewn him. But the prince was too ſagacious to be caught in this ſnare. He refuſed to obey the citation, and aſſigned the following reaſons for his refuſal.

He refuſes to obey.

"THE citation was of ſuch a nature," he ſaid, "that the duke of Alva could not expect his compliance with it. It was contrary in ſeveral reſpects to the fundamental laws of the Netherlands; the time allowed him to make his appearance was not what the laws preſcribed; and was ſo ſhort, that, conſidering his diſtance from the place of trial, it was utterly impoſſible for him to appear on the day appointed. The duke of Alva was a judge, whoſe authority he muſt on every account decline; ſince, as a Knight of the Golden Fleece, he could be judged only by his peers; and, as an inhabitant of Brabant, by his fellow-citizens. It was a breach of his privileges to commit the power of judging him to a perſon who was qualified in neither of theſe reſpects; and when injuſtice was done him in the very nomination of his judge, he had little reaſon to hope for juſtice in the deciſion of his cauſe; eſpecially when he conſidered, that the duke of Alva had long been his perſonal enemy, and had lately, without hearing what he had to ſay in his defence, proceeded on the ſuppoſition of his being

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His ſon carried to Spain.

being guilty, and had ſeized violently, and ſent to Spain, his ſon the count of Buren, who was purſuing his ſtudies in the univerſity of Louvain; truſting for the ſecurity of his perſon, to his unqueſtionable innocence, and the privileges of the place where he reſided."

His eſtates confiſcated.

AT the ſame time with the prince of Orange, the earls of Hoogſtraten and Culemberg, and ſeveral other noblemen, were cited to anſwer for their conduct; and, as ſoon as the ſhort term allowed to them for making their appearance was expired, Alva pronounced ſentence againſt them, and confiſcated their effects. He ordered the houſe of count Culemberg in Bruſſels to be pulled down, becauſe the confederates had ſometimes held their aſſemblies in it; and he declared all the eſtates of the prince of Orange, who (beſides his principality in the kingdom of France) poſſeſſed ſeveral in the Low-Countries, and ſome of great extent in Burgundy, to be forfeited to the king; a conſiderable ſhare of the profits of which, if we may credit ſome hiſtorians, he either applied to his own uſe, or beſtowed on the numerous informers whom he employed.

He employs the interceſſion of the emperor.

THE prince of Orange was too well acquainted with Philip's inflexible temper, to expect that any conſideration or influence would prevail with him to redreſs his grievances; yet, that he might, more clearly evince to the world the neceſſity which he lay under of having recourſe to arms, he ſent to the emperor Maximilian, a particular account of the treatment which he himſelf had received, and of the cruelty which the duke of Alva was exerciſing againſt the people of the Netherlands; and intreated him to employ his good offices in *his* and their behalf. Maximilian,

milian, a prince entirely oppoſite in character to Philip, readily complied with this requeſt. To give his interceſſion the greater weight, he made choice of his brother Charles of Auſtria for his ambaſſador; and inſtructed him to repreſent, that in his opinion, and that of all the princes in Germany, the preſent conduct of the duke of Alva in the Low-Countries was no leſs impolitic than rigid and ſevere.

Philip's reply to the emperor.

PHILIP's anſwer to this remonſtrance was ſuch as from his well-known character there was reaſon to expect. The ſeverities which had been employed, he ſaid, had not yet been found ſufficient to repreſs the pride and inſolence of his Flemiſh ſubjects; and he hoped the emperor would take care not to permit any troops to be raiſed againſt him in Germany by the prince of Orange and his aſſociates [a].

So haughty an anſwer, given to a prince of the firſt rank in Europe, who was Philip's near relation, demonſtrated that it would be vain and ineffectual to make any further attempt to divert him from his purpoſe. It contributed likewiſe to alienate Maximilian from his intereſt, and thereby facilitated the levies which were ſoon afterwards made in Germany for carrying on the war.

The prince of Orange prepares for an invaſion of the Netherlands.

THE prince of Orange, who for ſeveral months paſt had been ſolicited by the Flemiſh exiles to take up arms, would willingly have deferred complying with their requeſt, in expectation of a more convenient ſeaſon, when Philip might be involved in war with ſome of the neighbouring nations, and have it leſs in his power to beſtow attention on the Netherlands. But the impatience of the exiles to return home, the great additions which the

[a] Ferreras, 1568.

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perſecution had made to their numbers, and his dread that Alva, were he ſuffered to proceed, would eſtabliſh his power on too firm a foundation to be ſhaken by any force which could be brought againſt it; all theſe conſiderations concurred in determining him immediately to begin his preparations.

In order to raiſe money, he ſold his jewels, plate, and furniture. His brother, count John of Naſſau, ſupplied him with a conſiderable ſum, and he received contributions from the Flemiſh exiles in London, Embden, Cleves, and other places, where they had taken ſhelter.

His hopes of aſſiſtance from the queen of England,

He was aware how unable the inhabitants of the Netherlands were, to reſiſt the arms of Spain, unleſs ſupported by ſome foreign power. Philip was not, however, near ſo formidable at this time as during the life of Mary Queen of England, who knew no other law but her huſband's will, and never ſcrupled to ſacrifice the intereſts of her people to his ambition. Had Mary been ſtill alive, and Philip in poſſeſſion of his former influence over the Engliſh councils, the inhabitants of the Netherlands would have ſtruggled for their liberties in vain. It was fortunate for them, that the princeſs who ſat now upon the throne of England was led, both by inclination and intereſt, to adopt a ſyſtem of politics entirely contrary to that of Mary. For as Elizabeth had eſtabliſhed the proteſtant religion in her own dominions, ſhe had before this time ſhewn herſelf determined to ſupport the proteſtants of the neighbouring kingdoms. She had intereſted herſelf deeply in the civil wars of France, in favour of the Calviniſts, whilſt Philip gave aſſiſtance to the oppoſite party. And the prince of Orange had reaſon to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes, that ſhe would not remain an idle ſpectator of what was paſſing in the Netherlands.

He

HE had conceived expectations likewiſe of obtaining ſuccour from the French proteſtants; and with this view had communicated all his meaſures to their leaders, the prince of Condé and the admiral de Coligny. But his chief dependence was upon the proteſtant princes of Germany, whom, ever ſince he left the Netherlands, he had ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to perſuade, that if they did not exert themſelves with vigour, the liberties of the Netherlands would ſoon be entirely ſuppreſſed; and the trading cities, with the proſperity of which the intereſt of the higher provinces of Germany was inſeparably connected, would be changed into ſtrong holds, filled with Spaniſh troops, which the duke of Alva, as ſoon as his purpoſes in the Low-Countries were accompliſhed, would not fail to employ againſt the neighbouring powers.

and from the German princes.

PROMPTED by theſe motives, and by zeal for their religion, the count palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Wirtemberg, the landgrave of Heſſe, and ſeveral other princes, reſolved to ſupport William in his intended armament; and accordingly they furniſhed him with conſiderable ſupplies of money, promiſed him more, and aſſiſted him in levying troops within their reſpective territories.

Count Lewis

WHILST the prince was employed in making levies in Cleves, Juliers, and other countries adjoining to Brabant and Guelderland, his brother, count Lewis, was no leſs active in raiſing forces in the more northern parts of Germany, and in gathering together the Flemiſh exiles.

arrives with an army in the Netherlands;

COUNT Lewis was much ſooner ready to take the field than his brother, and he began his march in the end of April or beginning of May. He reſolved firſt to make an attempt on

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Groningen; and for this purpoſe he pitched his camp in ſuch a ſituation, that whilſt he cut off that city from all correſpondence with the neighbouring country, he kept a communication open with his friends in Germany.

gains a victory over the Spaniards.

THE duke of Alva ſent count Aremberg, an officer of conſiderable reputation, to oppoſe him; and ordered count Megen, governor of Guelderland and Zutphen, to march as ſoon as poſſible to count Aremberg's aſſiſtance, with a regiment of German infantry that was under his command. Upon Aremberg's approach, Lewis drew off his army to a ſtill more advantageous ſituation; and encamped on a riſing ground with a large moraſs in front.

THE Spaniards gave at this time a ſtriking proof of that ferocity and inſolence which they afterwards diſcovered on numberleſs occaſions, during the courſe of the preſent war. Having conceived the moſt contemptible opinion of the enemy, they were fired with impatience to engage, and as ſoon as they came in ſight demanded the ſignal of battle. Aremberg endeavoured to reſtrain their ardor, by repreſenting that the enemy were ſo ſtrongly poſted, and ſo much ſuperior in number, that it would be impoſſible to attack them with ſucceſs till count Megen ſhould arrive. But the Spaniards were not diſpoſed either to regard his opinion, or to reſpect his authority. They reproached him with infidelity to the king, and accuſed him of cowardice and ignorance of the art of war. Aremberg had not ſufficient ſtrength of mind to deſpiſe their reproaches. Inflamed with indignation at their unworthy treatment of him, "Let us march," ſaid he, "not to conquer, but to be overcome; and not by the arms of the enemy, but by the nature of the place. We ſhall be buried in the mud and water before we can reach the enemy; but it will

ſoon

ſoon appear, whether I am wanting either in courage or in fidelity to the king." Saying this, he gave orders to advance. The Spaniards were in the front, the Germans in the rear, and the cavalry were diſtributed in different places as the ground would permit. Lewis rejoiced when he ſaw them approaching towards him. He had placed his cavalry, under the command of his brother count Adolphus of Naſſau, on the right. On the left, his main army was covered by a hill, on which he had planted a ſtrong band of muſketeers. Behind him there was a little wood and the walls of a convent; and in his front, the moraſs above mentioned, which was almoſt impaſſable. Yet the Spaniards entered it without heſitation, and continued to advance till they were within reach of the enemy's fire. They came to be ſenſible of their folly when it was too late. Thoſe who had firſt entered were prevented from returning by thoſe who followed, and the farther they advanced, they were the more expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, and the more entangled in the mud. When they were in this ſituation Lewis attacked them vigorouſly in front, while his brother broke in upon their flank with the cavalry. They were cut to pieces almoſt without reſiſtance. Six hundred Spaniards were killed. The Germans ſurrendered at diſcretion, and were diſmiſſed, after taking an oath that they would never more carry arms for the duke of Alva. Count Aremberg, finding no room to act as general, was obliged to content himſelf with performing the duty of a common ſoldier; and he and count Adolphus ruſhing furiouſly againſt one another, fell each of them by the other's ſword. The Spaniards loſt their artillery, baggage, and military cheſt. The battle was ſcarcely ended when count Megen arrived, with ſo ſtrong a body of troops as would have been ſufficient, if they had advanced in time, to have changed the fortune of the day.

But

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But they were not able alone to face the enemy. And therefore Megen found it neceſſary to take ſhelter in Groningen, where he collected the ſcattered remains of the conquered army [t].

Alva's inquietude on this occaſion.

THE news of this defeat affected the duke of Alva in the moſt ſenſible manner. He knew of how much conſequence it was to any cauſe that the firſt enterprize ſhould be attended with ſucceſs. He conſidered that Lewis had but juſt entered the Low-Countries when he had gained a ſignal victory, and that the prince of Orange was ready to begin his march with a ſtill more formidable army than that of Lewis. The neighbouring powers, he doubted not, would be animated by what had happened, to grant the prince thoſe ſupplies which they had promiſed him; and the Flemings would be leſs afraid of declaring in his favour. On theſe accounts he would have marched immediately into Frieſland with his whole army, in order to cut off or ſcatter the troops under Lewis before his brother ſhould arrive. But he thought it neceſſary before he ſet out, to diſpatch the trial of the counts Egmont and Horn, and ſome other lords, whom at his firſt coming into the Netherlands he had thrown into priſon. Some of his friends endeavoured to divert him from his purpoſe, by repreſenting that the priſoners were ſo many pledges in his hands for the peaceable behaviour of their adherents; and that putting them to death would only ſerve to embitter the reſentment of the people, and make them receive the prince of Orange with open arms. He ſtill, however, perſiſted in his reſolution, prompted, if we may believe ſome hiſtorians, by the apprehenſion that, during his abſence the people might take up arms, and releaſe the priſoners. But, if we may credit others, he was influenced rather by revenge than pru-

The trial of the counts Egmont and Horn.

[t] Bentivoglio, p. 67, &c.

dence,

dence, and could no longer reſtrain his fury, which was inflamed at this time by the loſs which his army had ſuſtained in the late engagement.

In one day he ordered eighteen perſons of rank, whom the council of tumults had pronounced guilty of ſubſcribing the compromiſe, or of preſenting remonſtrances to the dutcheſs of Parma, to be put to death. Such of them as died catholics were beheaded, and the reſt were committed to the flames. Caſembrot, the lord of Beckerzel, count Egmont's ſecretary, who had been condemned for ſigning the compromiſe, was tortured in the moſt barbarous manner, to make him accuſe his friend and maſter; and when it appeared that his exhauſted body was ready to ſink under the torments which he ſuffered, Alva, enraged that nothing had been extorted from him which could juſtify the condemnation of the count, gave orders that he ſhould be drawn aſunder by horſes [u]. Hiſtory ſcarcely furniſhes an inſtance of ſo cruel a puniſhment inflicted for ſo ſlight an offence.

Such was the prelude to the trial of the counts Horn and Egmont, which followed immediately after what has been juſt now related.

Although the conduct both of Philip and the duke of Alva, in the Netherlands, and particularly their treatment of theſe two noblemen, had been an open violation of the laws, yet it was thought neceſſary to employ the farce of a formal trial before the ſentence of condemnation was pronounced. This was intended to leſſen the odium which might ariſe from putting to death two ſuch illuſtrious perſons, who were ſo exceedingly beloved by the people, and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo highly

[u] Grimeſtone and Bentivoglio.

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in the ſervice of the king. But it was accompanied with the contrary effect. It afforded the two counts an opportunity of placing their innocence in the cleareſt light, and furniſhed the world with the moſt convincing evidence of Philip's lawleſs tyranny and oppreſſion.

The charge againſt them.

THE general charge againſt them was, that, in conjunction with the prince of Orange, they had formed a plan to aboliſh the king's authority in the Netherlands; and the proofs of this charge were, firſt, That by their contumelious treatment of cardinal Granville, they had obliged the king, contrary to his inclination, to remove that prelate from the Low-Countries.

2. THAT they were privy to the confederacy which had been formed to oppoſe the introduction of the inquiſition and edicts; and although count Egmont knew that the lord of Beckerzel had ſubſcribed the compromiſe, he had ſtill retained him in his ſervice.

3. THAT they had met at Dendremond, with the prince of Orange, count Lewis of Naſſau, and ſeveral others, to deliberate about oppoſing the entrance of the king's army into the Netherlands. And,

4. THAT, inſtead of puniſhing heretics with due ſeverity, they had in ſome places granted them liberty openly to celebrate their religious aſſemblies.

Their defences.

IN anſwer to theſe accuſations, the two lords, after proteſting that, as knights of the Golden Fleece, they could not be tried by any other judges but the knights of their order, began with declaring, that they had never entertained a thought to the prejudice of the king's authority; and that when they urged the king to remove

remove Cardinal Granvelle from the Netherlands, they believed, and were ſtill perſuaded, that his removal was equally calculated to promote the intereſt of the king and of the provinces. Although they knew of the confederacy, they had neither any concern in it, nor power ſufficient to prevent it; and count Egmont had continued to employ the lord of Bickerzel, after knowing that he had ſigned the compromiſe, from a conviction that he was ſtill unſhaken in his fidelity to the church and to the king; of which that nobleman gave afterwards the ſtrongeſt proof, by exerting himſelf, with great activity, in detecting and puniſhing the violators of the churches. They had indeed been preſent at a conference in Dendremonde, where count Lewis of Naſſau had propoſed that they ſhould unite their endeavours to prevent the entrance of the Spaniſh troops; but, inſtead of aſſenting to that propoſal, they had diſapproved and oppoſed it. They had done every thing in their power for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy; they had made diligent ſearch for the rioters, and puniſhed many of them with great ſeverity; and although they had in ſome places granted the proteſtants liberty to hold their religious aſſemblies, yet they had done ſo becauſe they could not otherwiſe have prevented the demolition of the churches, beſides many other miſchievous effects, which there was the ſtrongeſt reaſon to apprehend from the enthuſiaſtic rage of the reformers. At the worſt, they had been guilty only of an error in judgment. They had lived, and would die in the belief and practice of the catholic religion. And as they had not been wanting in their duty to the church; ſo they had lately given inconteſtible evidence of their devotion to the king, by taking chearfully, at the dutcheſs of Parma's deſire, an oath to obey the king in every thing; and

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to regard as enemies to the ſtate, all thoſe whom he ſhould be pleaſed to condemn.

1568.

Interceſſions in their behalf.

WHILE the priſoners offered theſe ſatisfactory defences of their conduct, the moſt earneſt ſolicitations were employed in their behalf.

THE emperor Maximilian, agreeably to the humanity of his character, interceded with Philip in their favour, and flattered himſelf ſo ſtrongly with the hopes of ſucceſs, that, a few days before their execution, he ſent to inform the counteſs of Egmont, that her fears for her huſband's life would, he now believed, be happily diſappointed.

THE dutcheſs of Parma too, who had never ſuſpected that the complaints which ſhe had made againſt the priſoners during her regency, would have been attended with ſuch ſerious conſequences, tranſmitted to the king, and ſeconded, a petition from the counteſs of Egmont; in which, after repreſenting that her huſband had diſtinguiſhed himſelf above his equals, firſt in the ſervice of the late emperor, and ſince in that of the king; and that he had often born a principal ſhare in their wars and victories both in Europe and Africa; ſhe concluded with intreating, that if, notwithſtanding her huſband's defence of his conduct, he ſhould ſtill be found obnoxious to juſtice; yet, on account of his former ſervices, the king would remember him with mercy, and take into conſideration the deplorable ſituation to which ſhe, and her eleven helpleſs children, would be reduced, by the ignominious death of her huſband.

Letter of the counteſs of Egmont.

BUT Philip, curſed with the moſt unfeeling heart, remained relentleſs and inflexible; and, conformably to his orders, Alva pronounced ſentence of death both againſt count Egmont and

count

count Horn, in the beginning of June one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, after they had ſuffered near nine months impriſonment. The ſentence was intimated to them in the middle of the night, when they were in bed, by the biſhop of Ipres. They received the intelligence with becoming fortitude and reſignation. "I am not conſcious," ſaid count Egmont, "of having deſerved ſuch hard uſage from the king, whoſe glory and intereſt I have ſincerely ſtudied to promote. But I will ſubmit to my fate with patience; although my heart bleeds when I think of my wife and children."

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Letter of Count Egmont to Philip.

A FEW hours before his death he wrote to the king, "That although it had pleaſed him to order ſentence of death to be pronounced againſt him as a traitor, and an abettor of heretics; yet in juſtice to himſelf he muſt declare, that he had never failed, in word or in deed, in his duty either to *him* or to the church. I cannot therefore doubt, continued he, that when you ſhall receive true information of what has paſſed in the Low-Countries, you will be ſenſible how unjuſtly I have been uſed; having been condemned for doing what I never did or intended; and for the truth of this, I call Almighty God to witneſs, before whom I ſhall ſoon appear. My laſt and only requeſt is, that on account of my former ſervices, and the integrity of my intentions, you will take compaſſion on my unhappy wife and children; in the hopes of which I will patiently ſubmit to the execution of the ſentence which has been paſſed againſt me [u]."

June 5th, 1568.

The execution.

BOTH priſoners had, a few days before, been brought from Ghent to Bruſſels. Count Egmont was firſt conducted to the place

[u] Strada, &c.

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of execution, with Julio Romero, camp marſhal, on one hand, and the biſhop of Ipres on the other. The ſcaffold was covered with black cloth, and ſurrounded by a ſtrong guard, conſiſting of nineteen companies of ſoldiers. The count went up to the ſcaffold accompanied only by the biſhop of Ipres; with whom, having diſcourſed ſome time (on what ſubject we are not told), he kneeled down and prayed; then roſe again, and throwing off his robe, he wrapped his head and face in a handkerchief, and again kneeling down, with his hands joined, he in that poſture received the ſtroke of the executioner.

THE head and body, and the blood which flowed from them, were covered with a black cloth, to hide them from the view of count Horn; who was ſoon after brought thither, accompanied by the ſame attendants. Having aſcended the ſcaffold, he inquired whether count Egmont was already beheaded; and being told that he was, "We have not ſeen one another," ſaid he, "ſince the day when we were caſt into priſon. But from our fate, my friends," addreſſing himſelf to the ſpectators, "learn to know the meaſure of obedience required by your ſuperiors. If I have ever offended any of you, I now aſk forgiveneſs, and beſeech you to aſſiſt me with your prayers." Then having diſrobed himſelf, he ſubmitted to his fate with perfect compoſure and tranquillity.

THE heads were ſet up oppoſite to each other, on two iron poles, faſtened to the ſides of the ſcaffold; where they remained till the afternoon, when they were taken down and delivered, together with the bodies, to the friends of the deceaſed [x].

[x] Strada.

THE

THE unmerited death of theſe two great men excited univerſal grief and indignation. Nor could the ſpectators be deterred, by the numerous troops which ſurrounded them, from teſtifying their reſentment. Many of them, forgetting the danger to which they expoſed themſelves, ruſhed forward to the ſcaffold, dipt their handkerchiefs in the blood, and vowed, in the hearing of the Spaniards, that ere long the governor and his aſſociates ſhould have reaſon to repent of the cruel murder that had been committed [y].

Character of count Egmont.

COUNT Egmont was forty-ſix years of age when he ſuffered. To the moſt ſplendid bodily accompliſhments, he joined great gentleneſs of manners, and the moſt engaging affability. From his youth he had accompanied the late emperor in his military expeditions, and had on all occaſions acquitted himſelf with the higheſt honour, while at the ſame time he rendered himſelf univerſally beloved. Of the two victories which Philip's armies gained over the French at St. Quintin and Gravelines, it is allowed that the one was owing in a great meaſure, and the other entirely, to count Egmont. As all men were acquainted with the advantages which Philip derived from theſe victories, they were ſhocked at the ungrateful return which he now made to the perſon by whoſe valour and conduct they had been obtained [z].

Alva marches againſt count Lewis,

AFTER this diſmal cataſtrophe, Alva having nothing to prevent him from turning his whole attention to the war with count

[y] Bentivoglio.

[z] At the ſame time that what is above related was tranſacted at Bruſſels, orders were given at Madrid for putting to death the Baron of Montigny, brother to count Horn, who had been ſent by the dutcheſs of Parma along with the marquis of Mons (who died ſome months before) to preſent the petition of the confederates. Bentivoglio.

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Lewis of Naſſau, ordered bridges to be thrown over the Maeſe, the Rhine, and the Iſſel, and marched directly to the enemy. He reached Deventer, where he had given orders for ſeveral bodies of troops to meet him about the middle of July; and in a few days after, he arrived with his whole army, conſiſting of twelve thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, in ſight of the enemy's camp.

THE army of count Lewis being much inferior both in diſcipline and number, that general quickly perceived the neceſſity of quitting his preſent ſituation. He retired, however, in good order, and with very little loſs, till he arrived at the town of Gemmingen, where he pitched his camp in a place that appeared almoſt impregnable. Behind him lay the village of Gemmingen; on his left, the river Ems, by which he could be ſupplied with proviſions from Embden, and other places; and on his right, a plain which he fortified with trenches and redoubts: but that which formed the chief ſtrength of his ſituation was, that the enemy could not approach him but by marching in defile along the dyke of the river. This dyke was ten miles in length, with the river on the one ſide, and a moraſs on the other. Having planted a battery of cannon upon it, Lewis intended to open the dyke, and lay the moraſs under water. And in this encampment, he hoped it would not be difficult for him to keep the enemy at bay, till his brother ſhould begin his operations; when he did not doubt that the duke of Alva would find it neceſſary to retire.

and defeats him,

ALVA was aware of Lewis's intention, and of the danger with which any conſiderable delay muſt be attended. With the utmoſt expedition he brought forward his beſt veteran troops, and arrived at the very time when the Flemings were beginning to break

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down the dyke. Count Lewis and the other nobility were themſelves employed at the work. When the enemy appeared, they betook themſelves haſtily to arms, but they were ſoon obliged to yield to the ſuperior force of the Spaniards, and to retire behind the battery above mentioned. Here Lewis expected to maintain his ground by the help of his artillery; but the Germans in his army, to the number of ſeven thouſand, having been diſappointed of their pay for ſome weeks, and believing that Lewis had money in his poſſeſſion which he had delayed giving them from his dread of their deſertion, reſolved to embrace the preſent opportunity to extort from him a compliance with their demands. They roſe tumultuouſly, and threatened that they would not fight unleſs he immediately paid their arrears. Intelligence of this ſedition was carried by ſpies or deſerters to the duke of Alva, who perceived that now was the time to make an attempt upon the battery. He ordered a part of his army to enter the moraſs; through which, as it was the ſummer ſeaſon, and Lewis had been diſappointed in his deſign of laying the ground under water, the Spaniards found their way eaſier than they expected. They arrived in time to attack the enemy in flank, whilſt the reſt of the army, without ſhrinking, marched up to the battery in front, and made a furious aſſault upon it ſword in hand. The Flemiſh exiles, with count Lewis at their head, defended themſelves for ſome time with great bravery; but being deſerted by the Germans, they were at length compelled to retreat. The Spaniards entered the camp along with them. The Germans, overwhelmed with terror, made little reſiſtance; and, as a juſt puniſhment of their ſedition at ſo critical a period, great numbers of them were put to the ſword. Almoſt as many were ſwallowed up in

through a mutiny of the Germans.

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in attempting to ſwim acroſs the river, as fell by the hands of the enemy. On the ſide of the Spaniards only eighty men were killed; but of the Germans and the Flemiſh exiles, between ſix and ſeven thouſand periſhed, including thoſe who were drowned. Count Lewis, after having attempted in vain to rally his ſcattered troops, eſcaped in a ſmall boat to the oppoſite ſide of the river; and ſoon afterwards ſet out with the earl of Hoogſtraten for Germany, to join the prince of Orange [a].

THE duke of Alva went from the field of battle to the city of Groningen, and from thence to Utrecht and Amſterdam; carrying on inquiries in theſe places againſt the proteſtants, and puniſhing with rigour all who were ſuſpected to have been concerned in the late diſorders. He would gladly have ſpent more time in this employment, ſo agreeable to the native cruelty of his diſpoſition; but he was informed that the prince of Orange had begun to put his troops in motion, and was upon his march from Treves to the province of Guelderland, or Brabant.

BEFORE William left Germany, he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he explained the motives which induced him to have recourſe to arms. "There was no other expedient left," he ſaid, "by which he could ſave his countrymen from ſlavery and ruin; and to attempt this, he thought, was the indiſpenſable duty of every citizen; eſpecially of one who, like him, had enjoyed the higheſt dignities of the ſtate. The king, he hoped, would ere long be delivered from thoſe Spaniſh counſellors by whom he had been

[a] Strada, Bentivoglio, and Grimeſtone's General Hiſtory of the Netherlands.

led

led aſtray; but, in the mean time, he did not think it incumbent upon any inhabitant of the Low-Countries to yield obedience to the king in contradiction to the laws. For Philip did not hold the ſame unlimited authority in the Netherlands, as in his other dominions. His right to obedience ſubſiſted only whilſt he maintained the rights of the people; and, by the conſtitutions of the provinces, it was expreſsly provided, that if the ſovereign ſhould attempt to violate any of the fundamental laws, the people ſhould in that caſe be abſolved from their allegiance.

In this manifeſto the prince thought proper to make it known, that he had changed his ſentiments in religion; and was now convinced, that the opinions of the proteſtants were more conformable than thoſe of the Romiſh church, to the great rule of chriſtian faith, the ſacred writings.

The prince's army.

WILLIAM's army, including horſe and foot, did not exceed twenty thouſand; and the duke of Alva's, after being joined by a reinforcement which he received at this time from Spain, was equal in number, and much better furniſhed with military ſtores and proviſions. The prince was ſenſible of the great diſadvantage under which he laboured in this reſpect; but from the preſſing invitations which he received from many of the principal inhabitants in the Netherlands, and from the repeated repreſentations which were made to him of the univerſal hatred with which the people were animated againſt the governor, he hoped that, as ſoon as his army ſhould appear, there would be an inſurrection in his favour, or that ſome of the principal cities would open their gates to receive him.

Alva in vain oppoſes his paſſage over the Maeſe.

HE paſſed the Rhine without oppoſition in the end of Auguſt, a little above Cologn; and then turning to the left, he advanced towards

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towards Aix-la-Chapelle. About this time the duke of Alva arrived at Maeſtricht. The prince directed his march firſt towards Liege; but being diſappointed in the hopes which he had conceived, of that city declaring in his favour, he turned his courſe northwards, with an intention to paſs the Maeſe wherever he ſhould find it fordable. Alva's whole attention was employed to prevent him from putting his deſign in execution, and with this view he planted ſtrong guards along the banks of the river, and kept his army as nearly oppoſite as poſſible to the enemy.

At laſt, however, after ſeveral marches and countermarches, William effected his paſſage in the night, oppoſite to a town called Stochem, where the duke believed it to have been impracticable. But the ſeaſon had been remarkably dry; and the prince on this occaſion imitated the conduct of Julius Cæſar in his paſſage of the Ligeris, by placing his cavalry a little above the ford, to break the force of the ſtream.

When Alva was informed next morning of what had happened, he could not at firſt believe it, and ſcornfully aſked the officer who brought the intelligence, Whether he imagined that the enemy had wings?

The prince of Orange endeavoured to perſuade his troops, as ſoon as they had croſſed the river, to march directly againſt the Spaniards; who, if this requeſt had been complied with, might have been attacked with great advantage; but the Germans, who, unfortunately for themſelves, as well for the cauſe in which they were engaged, never yielded due obedience to their commander, refuſed to advance till they ſhould have

have a night's refreſhment; and thereby loſt the only opportunity which the duke of Alva ever gave them, of compelling him to fight.

Alva declines fighting.

ON the next day, when they were led forward to the Spaniſh camp to offer battle, they found it ſo ſtrongly fortified with intrenchments and redoubts, that no attempt could be made upon it with the ſmalleſt probability of ſucceſs. Chiappino Vitelli, an officer of high reputation, was of opinion, that the duke ought not to have declined an engagement, as the enemy were fatigued with their paſſage of the river, and had not yet made choice of a proper place for their camp, to which they could retire after battle; beſides, that it was of the higheſt conſequence, he imagined, to give an early check to their preſumption, in order to prevent the fortified towns from declaring in their favour.

His motives.

BUT Alva had already formed his plan, to which he was unalterably determined to adhere. He conſidered that he had a great deal more at ſtake than the prince of Orange; and that a defeat would be attended not only with the loſs of his army, but the greateſt part of the provinces. He was acquainted too with the narrowneſs of William's finances, and knew that he muſt encounter the moſt inſurmountable difficulties in ſupporting ſo numerous an army for any conſiderable time; eſpecially as the winter ſeaſon was faſt approaching, when, unleſs he ſhould get poſſeſſion of ſome of the great towns, it would be impoſſible for him to remain in the Netherlands.

His prudent conduct.

WITH this view, as he ſuſpected that the prince intended to lead his army into Brabant, he ſtrengthened the garriſons of Tillemont, Louvain, and Bruſſels; and when William directed his march towards Tongres, the duke drew his troops ſo near that

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town, as made it impoſſible for the enemy to approach. Whichever way the prince of Orange turned his courſe, the duke of Alva accompanied him; marching ſometimes behind, and ſometimes on his flank; always ſtraitening his quarters, and rendering it difficult for him to furniſh his army with forage and proviſions; while he intrenched his own forces with ſo much ſkill, that the prince fought in vain for an opportunity of bringing on an engagement.

Skirmiſhes.

In this ſituation frequent ſkirmiſhes between the two armies were unavoidable, and in theſe the advantage fell ſometimes on the one ſide and ſometimes on the other; but each commander made ſuch judicious movements, choſe his ground with ſo much ſkill, and exerted ſuch an equal degree of vigilance and attention, as effectually prevented his antagoniſt from obtaining any conſiderable advantage over him.

The only ſucceſs which the duke of Alva could boaſt of, was at the river Geete; where, having attacked the rear-guard of the enemy's army, he killed ſome, and put the reſt to flight.

The prince of Orange had the ſame ground of triumph in an action at Queſnoy; where, having come up with a detachment conſiſting of ten companies of German catholics, eight of Spaniards, and three troops of light-armed infantry, he put them to rout, and took ample vengeance for the loſs he had ſuſtained at Geete [b].

He was on his march at that time to meet the Sieur de Genlis, who had been ſent to him by the prince of Condé, with a reinforcement of troops; which fully compenſated all his loſſes in Brabant.

[b] Thuanus.

But

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BUT the causes already mentioned began to operate. The prince had been cruelly disappointed of the greatest part of the money which had been promised him. The dread which the Flemings entertained of the Spanish forces, and the prudent precautions which had been taken by the duke of Alva, had prevented William's friends from making any effort in his behalf. His army had been often pinched for provisions. They now despaired of getting possession of any of the great towns, and they trembled at the thoughts of passing the winter in the open fields. The Germans began to desert in great numbers, and had often, before this time, shewn themselves refractory and disobedient. For these reasons, the prince found it necessary to disband them; after having given them all the satisfaction in his power, by paying a part of their arrears, and giving security to their leaders for the rest on his lordship of Montfort and the principality of Orange [c].

AFTER these disasters, the prince, accompanied by his brother count Lewis, went to France, and conducted thither between a thousand and twelve hundred horse, to the assistance of the Calvinists.

SUCH was the conclusion of the first attempt which the prince of Orange and his brother made, to deliver the Netherlands from the Spanish yoke. It must occur to every reader, that if they had begun their operations and entered the provinces at the same time, the issue of their enterprise would probably have been extremely different. The duke of Alva would, in that case, have been obliged to divide his forces, and have probably been overpowered by numbers. But unfortunately count Lewis, who was more expeditious in making his levies than the prince of Orange, did not possess a fund sufficient to maintain

[c] Thuanus Meursius, Albanus, p. 19. Meteren, p. 79.

them

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them without employment, and was obliged to enter upon action before his brother was prepared to ſupport him. And to the ſame cauſe may be aſcribed both the prince's delay in putting his troops in motion, and the neceſſity to which he was reduced of breaking up his camp.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK IX.

PART I.

WHILE Philip's bigotry, joined to his deſpotic and arbitrary conduct, had engaged him in war with his ſubjects in the Netherlands, the ſame cauſes produced a ſimilar effect in the province of Granada; where the Moors, who had long yielded a tame ſubmiſſion to the crown of Spain, were provoked by the tyranny of the preſent government, to throw off their allegiance, and have recourſe to arms. This people, who, during ſeveral centuries, had maintained poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Spain, were at laſt totally ſubdued by Ferdinand the catholic, in the year one thouſand four hundred and ninety-two. But although their government was aboliſhed at that time, the people themſelves remained; and were permitted to enjoy not only their poſſeſſions, dreſs,

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dreſs, and cuſtoms, but even their religion, as in the time of their native kings. And the politic Ferdinand ſcrupled not to ſwear ſolemnly, to obſerve this condition, in hopes of being able afterwards to deviſe ſome efficacious means of reconciling them to the chriſtian faith.

BEING diſappointed in his expectation, and finding, after a trial of ſeveral years, that the inſtructions of his prieſts were not likely to prove effectual; he reſolved, without regard to the oath which he had ſworn, to employ force in order to accompliſh his deſign. He pretended, that the citizens of Granada had forfeited their title to his fulfilling the terms of peace, by an inſurrection, into which ſome of them had been betrayed through the violent adminiſtration of cardinal Ximenes; and, on this pretence, he ordered ſentence of death to be pronounced againſt them, and declared, that unleſs they would renounce their religion, it ſhould be inſtantly carried into execution. By this expedient he compelled fifty thouſand of the inhabitants of the city of Granada, moſt of whom had no concern in the inſurrection, to profeſs themſelves converts to Chriſtianity. The inhabitants of the country, and of the ſmaller towns, being highly exaſperated by the violent treatment of their countrymen, and dreading that they themſelves would quickly experience the ſame injuſtice, began to prepare for reſiſtance. But before they had time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, Ferdinand, who was no leſs provident and active, than falſe and faithleſs, came upon them with a numerous army, and after taking one of their towns, of which he put all the inhabitants to the ſword, he ſoon obliged the reſt to lay down their arms. Upon their paying him a ſum of money, he permitted a certain number to tranſport themſelves to Africa. But the greater part were

compelled to remain in the kingdom, and to ſubmit to be baptized. They were ſtill however ſtrongly attached to the Mahometan ſuperſtition; and although they generally conformed to the rites of the Romiſh church, they could not, on every occaſion, conceal their attachment. The inquiſitors were perpetually prying into their conduct; great numbers of them were condemned and burnt as heretics; and many thouſands, dreading the like fate, fled over to Barbary.

REPRESENTATIONS were often tranſmitted to court of the deſolation that was thus produced; but theſe repreſentations either did not reach the ear of Ferdinand, or they were diſregarded. No remedy was ever applied, and the inquiſitors continued to exerciſe without controul their wonted cruelty and oppreſſion.

DURING the latter part of the reign of Ferdinand, and the whole of that of Charles, the Moors are ſeldom mentioned by the Spaniſh hiſtorians; nor do theſe writers give us any other information concerning them for half a century, than that they ſtill retained their ancient averſion to the chriſtian faith. But the eccleſiaſtics, ſoon after Philip's arrival in Spain, taking encouragement from that bigoted zeal with which they knew their prince to be ſo ſtrongly actuated, revived their old complaints againſt that unhappy people, and made repeated repreſentations of their obſtinate and incurable infidelity.

"THEY are chriſtians," ſaid Guerrero, archbiſhop of Granada, "in name only, but Mahometans in their hearts. They come to hear maſs on feſtival days, only in order to avoid the penalties which they would otherwiſe incur. They work on theſe days with their doors ſhut, and feaſt and carouſe on Fridays. They preſent their children to be baptized; but no ſooner do they reach

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their own houſes, than they waſh them with warm water, circumciſe them, and give them Mooriſh names. They conſent to be married in the churches, becauſe the law requires it; but when they return home, they clothe themſelves in a Mooriſh dreſs, and celebrate their nuptials with dances, ſongs, and other ſpecies of muſic which are in uſe only among the Moors."

THIS repreſentation was well calculated to make impreſſion on the ſuperſtitious ſpirit of the king. But the archbiſhop knew, that political conſiderations were likely to have as much weight with him as thoſe of a religious nature; and therefore he ſubjoined, "That the Moreſcoes held a treaſonable correſpondence with the Turks and Corſairs, and were in the practice of carrying off the children of chriſtians, and either ſelling them for ſlaves, or ſending them to Barbary, where they were brought up in the religion of Mahomet." Whether there was any truth in the latter part of this accuſation, does not appear with convincing evidence; but, conſidering the near affinity between the Moreſcoes and the African Moors in reſpect of religion, manners, language, and deſcent, together with their alienation from the Spaniſh government, which the cruelties exerciſed againſt them by the inquiſition, and their excluſion from all offices of truſt, muſt have carried to the greateſt height, it is not ſurpriſing that Philip's apprehenſions were alarmed, and that he thought it neceſſary to make proviſion againſt the danger which ſeemed to threaten him.

Philip diſarms them.

HIS firſt ſtep was to ſtrip the Moreſcoes of their arms; and for this purpoſe he ſent, on different pretences, ſeveral regiments of Caſtilians to quarter among them, by whom a great quantity of arms of all kinds were ſeized; but as their ſuſpicions were perpetually

petually awake, they had penetrated his deſign, and concealed a conſiderable quantity [a].

THIS diſcovery of Philip's diſpoſition towards them, ſerved to alienate their affections more than ever from his government, and at the ſame time encouraged the inquiſitors to multiply their complaints, and to urge at court the neceſſity of employing more efficacious meaſures than had hitherto been adopted. The king himſelf was far from being averſe to comply with the violent counſels that were given him; and when upon conſulting a theologian of the name of Oraduy, that eccleſiaſtic, in the true ſpirit of a Spaniſh inquiſitor, quoted to him the proverb, that "of enemies, the fewer, the better." Philip was highly pleaſed with his reply.

His edict againſt them.

HAVING therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to extirpate from his dominions the private as well as the public exerciſe of Mahometaniſm, and to waſh it out with the blood of its votaries, rather than ſuffer it to remain, he appointed a ſelect number of eccleſiaſtics to conſider of the proper means by which his deſign might be accompliſhed; and agreeably to the advice of theſe men he ſoon afterwards publiſhed an edict which contained the following prohibitions, and denounced death in caſe of diſobedience: "That henceforth the Moreſcoes ſhall lay aſide their native language, dreſs, and peculiar cuſtoms, and in future adopt thoſe of the inhabitants of Caſtile. That they ſhall no longer take Mooriſh names or ſurnames, but ſuch as are generally uſed in Spain. That they ſhall bear none of thoſe ſymbols about them by which the diſciples of Mahomet are diſtinguiſhed. That they ſhall diſcontinue the uſe of their baths, which ſhall be imme-

[a] Ferreras, ann. 1562.

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diately deſtroyed. That their women ſhall not, as hitherto, appear in veils; that no perſon ſhall marry without a diſpenſation from the ordinary; that none ſhall remove from one place to another without permiſſion; and that they ſhall on no occaſion wear arms, or keep them in their poſſeſſion."

THE exerciſe of the Mahometan religion having been prohibited under the ſevereſt penalties by former princes, no mention was made of it in the edict; but the Moreſcoes readily perceived the deſign and tendency of the preſent regulations, and conſidered, that as they muſt render the ſecret practice of their religion infinitely more difficult than formerly, they muſt infallibly prove ere long the cauſe of its extirpation. Even although they had not been apprehenſive of any ſuch ſerious conſequence, it could not be expected they would tamely ſubmit to thoſe affronting rules which were now preſcribed them. Men are often more powerfully attached to the external forms and modes of life, than to things that are the moſt eſſential to their happineſs. With this attachment the zeal of the Moreſcoes for their religion coincided. Their reſentment, on account of the innumerable cruelties which had been ſo long exerciſed againſt them by the inquiſition, added force to theſe incentives, and prompted them to reſolve to expoſe themſelves to the laſt extremities, rather than yield obedience to the edict that was now promulgated. But as they were conſcious of their weakneſs, and could not depend upon receiving aſſiſtance from any foreign power, they agreed, before they ſhould take up arms, to make trial, whether they could, by ſolicitation and intreaty, perſuade the king to revoke his edict.

Their remonſtrance.

"THEIR dreſs," they repreſented, "had ſurely no relation to any religion, whether the Mahometan or the Chriſtian, ſince the Mahometans

Mahometans in Morocco, Fez, Tunis, and Turkey, dreſſed very differently from one another; while the dreſs of the Chriſtians in Turkey was the ſame as that of the Turks: and to require them all to purchaſe Caſtilian habits would ſubject great numbers of them to an expence which they were unable to defray. It was from modeſty alone their women wore veils; a practice which obtained in many places of Caſtile, as well as in Granada. Their muſic and dances were uſed on days of feſtivity, only as amuſements; they had not the moſt remote connection with religion, and they had been regarded as innocent by prelates the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their ſanctity and zeal.

"THEIR baths were uſed for the purpoſe of cleanlineſs only; thoſe of the men were ſeparate from thoſe of the women; and it was not in the power of thoſe chriſtians to whom the care of them was committed, to allege, that either the former or the latter had been ever applied to any uſe repugnant either to decency or the catholic religion. And with regard to their language, as it was difficult to conceive how the Arabic could contain any thing contrary to chriſtianity, ſo it was utterly impoſſible for them at once to lay aſide the uſe of it, ſince great numbers among them were too far advanced in life to be able to learn a new language; and in ſeveral parts of the country there was no other tongue ſpoken but the Arabic, nor any means eſtabliſhed by which the Caſtilian could be acquired." They concluded with profeſſions of loyalty to the king, and with reminding him, that in his foreign wars they had given him many proofs of their attachment and fidelity.

THE Moreſcoes had not acceſs, it ſhould ſeem, to deliver this remonſtrance to Philip himſelf; but it was preſented to him by Deza the chancellor of Granada, who was ſeconded by Don John Henriquez,

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Henriquez, Don Antonio de Toledo, the prior of Leon, and the marquis of Mondejar, captain-general of the province. This laſt mentioned nobleman ſpared no pains to divert Philip from his purpoſe, by repreſenting, that from his knowledge of the Moreſcoes he was convinced, that an open rebellion would be the conſequence of carrying the edict into execution. But the king having formed his reſolution after mature deliberation, and by the advice of ſuch counſellors as he moſt eſteemed, lent a deaf ear to all the repreſentations that were made to him, and gave orders to Mondejar immediately to ſet out for Granada, in order to make preparations for employing force in caſe he ſhould find it neceſſary.

THE Moreſcoes were no ſooner informed of the ill ſucceſs of their petition, than they began to meditate a revolt; and the leading men among them having met privately in Cadiar, a town ſituated in the entrance of the mountains of Alpuxara, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to Fez, Algiers, and Conſtantinople, to ſolicit aſſiſtance; and at the ſame time ſpread their emiſſaries over the province, in order to prepare the minds of the inhabitants.

Their inſurrection.

THE people almoſt every where, except in thoſe places where they were overawed by the Spaniſh garriſon, obeyed with alacrity the invitation which they received to aſſert their liberty; and in a little time the whole region of Alpuxara, which contains a ſpace of ſeventeen leagues in length and ten in breadth, comprehending many villages and many thouſand inhabitants, was up in arms. A reinforcement of ſeveral hundred Turks, beſides a quantity of military ſtores, arrived from Africa, and the Moreſcoes flattered themſelves with the hopes that much more powerful aſſiſtance would ere long be ſent them by the Sultan.

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They elect a king.

THEIR leaders in the mean time held another aſſembly, in which they elected for their king Don Ferdinand de Valor, a young man of four or five and twenty, deſcended from their ancient princes, and in ſome meaſure qualified, by his intrepid courage and activity, for the dangerous pre-eminence to which he was now exalted. Having aſſumed the name of Aben-Humeya, which had been that of his progenitors, he was inveſted with the enſigns of royalty, with all the forms and ceremonies which were anciently practiſed at the election of the Mooriſh kings. He then entered upon the exerciſe of his new authority, appointed his miniſters and officers, and ſent orders to all the chiefs who were not preſent in the aſſembly, to hold themſelves ready to act on the ſhorteſt notice.

Their attempt on Granada.

HIS firſt and principal object was to get poſſeſſion of the city of Granada, in which he doubted not of being able to defend himſelf till the Turkiſh ſuccours ſhould arrive. Nor was it without ſome reaſon that he entertained hopes of ſucceeding in an attempt on this important city. His party had hitherto concealed their machinations with the moſt profound and faithful ſecrecy. Their ſeveral meetings had been held on pretences which deceived the penetration of the Spaniards, and their military preparations had been carried on chiefly among the mountains of Alpuxara. The marquis of Mondejar, indeed, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, had conceived a ſuſpicion of their deſigns, and had repreſented to Philip the neceſſity of ſending him a much more powerful army than was at preſent under his command. But there ſubſiſted at this time a violent jealouſy between that nobleman and Deza the chancellor, which aroſe from a competition concerning the rights of their reſpective offices. Deza, prompted by his animoſity againſt the marquis, endeavoured to diſcredit his account

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count of the hoſtile intentions of the Moors, and to perſuade the king that there was in reality no danger of a revolt, and that the edict lately publiſhed might be ſufficiently enforced by a vigorous exerciſe of the civil power alone; but that Mondejar was deſirous that a war ſhould be kindled, becauſe he expected that the whole adminiſtration of it would be committed to himſelf, and the count of Tendilla his ſon.

PHILIP, though naturally provident and ſuſpicious, and more inclined to fear than hope, was by his counſellors, who were Deza's friends, led to believe his repreſentation of the matter, rather than that of the marquis. And thus the march of the troops for which Mondejar had applied was delayed, and the garriſon of Granada ſuffered to continue ſo weak, that had it not been for an accident which could not be foreſeen, that city would have fallen into the hands of the Moreſcoes. Aben-Humeya having held a ſecret correſpondence with the inhabitants of the town of Albaicin, which communicates with the city of Granada, and may be conſidered as a part of it, gave orders about the end of December to Aben-Farax, one of his principal officers, to march thither with a body of between ſix and ſeven thouſand men. Had theſe troops reached Albaicin at the time expected, the inhabitants would have joined them, and thereby have made up an army by which the garriſon muſt have been overpowered; but by a fall of ſnow upon a neighbouring mountain, over which they were obliged to paſs, they were all prevented from advancing except about one hundred and fifty. With theſe Aben-Farax himſelf entered Albaicin in the middle of the night; and if he could have prevailed upon the inhabitants to take arms and join him, he might ſtill have made himſelf maſter of the town; but though well affected to his cauſe, they were deterred from declaring in his

his favour by obſerving how ſmall a number of troops he had brought along with him; ſo that, after having continued in the place for ſome hours, he was obliged, before the approach of day, to make his eſcape to the mountain where his army had been ſtopt. Philip's eyes were then opened, with regard to the contradictory informations which he had received, and he immediately iſſued orders for the march of thoſe troops for which the marquis of Mondejar had applied.

Their hoſtilities.

ABEN-HUMEYA in the mean time was employed in fortifying the narrow paſſes which led into the country of Alpuxara: after which he, with one body of troops, and Aben-Farax with another, went from place to place, exhorting or compelling the Moreſcoes to revolt; deſtroying the altars and images in the churches, which they converted into moſques; and putting to death, in the moſt barbarous manner, all the prieſts and other chriſtians who refuſed to embrace the Mahometan religion.

They ſubmit to the marquis of Mondejar.

IN order to check their progreſs, the marquis of Mondejar ſet out from Granada as ſoon as he had collected a ſufficient number of troops for his intended enterpriſe. The Moreſcoes diſputed with him for ſome time the entrance into the mountains; but they were unable to withſtand long the bold intrepid efforts of the Spaniſh infantry. Mondejar triumphed over them at every paſs; put many of them to the ſword; took a great number of priſoners, and at laſt obliged Aben-Humeya to fly with the ſhattered remains of his army, to the more inacceſſible parts of the mountains. In a few months almoſt the whole region of Alpuxara was ſubdued. The people, being every where intimidated by the rapidity of Mondejar's progreſs, laid down their arms, and either came to him in numerous bodies, or ſent deputies, to ſue for peace.

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This he readily granted, on condition of their yielding obedience in future to the king's authority; and he at the ſame time gave them protection againſt (what they had but too much reaſon to dread) the rapine and violence of the Spaniſh ſoldiers. The marquis de los Velez, who commanded a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Almeria, was no leſs ſucceſsful in diſlodging the Moreſcoes from ſome ſtrong holds near the ſea-coaſts, where they had fortified themſelves with a view to favour the deſcent of the Moors and Turks. And now the marquis of Mondejar, believing the war to be almoſt entirely extinguiſhed, and that Aben-Humeya muſt either ſoon ſurrender or make his eſcape out of the kingdom, ſent intelligence of his ſucceſs to Philip, and deſired that a part of the troops might be recalled. He at the ſame time recommended the treating gently both ſuch of the Moreſcoes as had ſubmitted, and ſuch of them as had been taken priſoners. But unfortunately this nobleman's enemies at court had much greater influence than his friends; and Philip was of himſelf much more inclined to harſhneſs and ſeverity, than to lenity and mercy. Without regard to Mondejar's repreſentations, a royal mandate was immediately diſpatched, commanding all the priſoners above eleven years of age, without diſtinction of ſex or condition, to be ſold for ſlaves [b].

THIS barbarous treatment of their countrymen revived in the minds of ſuch of the Moreſcoes as had ſubmitted, all their wonted abhorrence of the Spaniſh yoke; and ſoon afterwards they themſelves were treated with equal inhumanity.

[b] The effect of this barbarous treatment, ſays a Spaniſh hiſtorian (Ferreras), was, that great numbers of the Moreſcoe women languiſhed in ſlavery for a little time, and then ſunk under their calamities.

WHETHER

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WHETHER Philip's exchequer was in reality drained at this time by his late expenſive armaments in the Mediterranean, and his war in the Netherlands, or whether his miniſters only pretended this to be the caſe, in order to gratify their malignity againſt Mondejar, does not ſufficiently appear; but whatever was the cauſe, the arrears due to the troops were ſo great, that the marquis of Mondejar was unable to diſcharge them. The uſual conſequence of the ill-payment of an army quickly followed. The general loſt his authority, and the ſoldiers, and ſeveral of the officers, deſerted their ſtations, and ſpread themſelves over the country; plundering, and even butchering and carrying off into ſlavery great numbers of thoſe Moreſcoes for whoſe ſecurity he had pledged his faith. Mondejar ſeems to have exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly to put a ſtop to theſe enormities, by ſending out ſuch of his troops as he could truſt, to reſtrain or chaſtiſe the delinquents. But his endeavours were in a great meaſure fruitleſs. The Spaniards ſtill continued to embrace every opportunity of indulging their rapacity; and afterwards left their ſtandards, and went off to the neighbouring provinces with their prey.

THE Moreſcoes, highly exaſperated by the multiplied oppreſſions which they ſuffered, repented of their late ſubmiſſion; and, being now convinced that there was no ſafety in truſting to any treaty with an enemy ſo cruel and perfidious, they reſumed their arms, took ample vengeance on ſcattered parties of the Spaniards, whom they ſurprized among the mountains, and again arranged themſelves under the banners of their king. It happened about this time, that Aben-Humeya received from Africa a reinforcement of four hundred Turks; who, it was pretended, were ſoon to be

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followed by a powerful fleet and army. And thus the Moreſcoes were determined, partly by hope, and partly by vengeance and deſpair, to make a ſecond trial of the fortune of war; the calamities attending which, they thought, could not exceed thoſe which they had lately experienced in the time of peace.

THE cauſes of this ſecond revolt were very differently interpreted by the marquis of Mondejar's enemies and friends. By the former it was ſaid, "that this nobleman had erred egregiouſly, both in his manner of conducting the war, and in his treatment of the rebels, when they laid down their arms. For it was abſurd to expect that an enemy ſo treacherous as the Moreſcoes, would regard their engagements any longer than they found it neceſſary; and no leſs abſurd to hope that ſuch obſtinate infidels would ever be ſincere converts to the chriſtian faith. Their late ſacrilege, and the barbarous cruelties which they had exerciſed againſt the prieſts, and other chriſtians, had called aloud for vengeance; and juſtice, as well as ſound policy, had required, that they ſhould all have been put to the ſword, or ſold for ſlaves."

BUT the marquis, on the other hand, and his adherents, repreſented, That this deluded people had been chaſtiſed with ſufficient ſeverity, for enormities into which their leaders had betrayed them. That humanity, and a regard to the intereſt of the king, had prevented him from ſacrificing to revenge, the lives of ſo many thouſand uſeful ſubjects, moſt of whom were innocent of the crimes that had been committed; and by whoſe deſtruction ſo great a part of the kingdom would have been rendered deſolate: beſides, that there was no reaſon to believe that the Moreſcoes would have violated their faith, if the troops could have been kept under proper diſcipline; which he had found it impoſſible

impoſſible to maintain, partly through the negligence of ſome of the king's miniſters in making remittances for their pay; and partly through the pains which ſome perſons in power had taken to ruin his authority. 1568.

Don John of Auſtria commander in chief.

BETWEEN theſe contradictory repreſentations Philip was at a loſs to determine what meaſures to purſue. But at laſt, either becauſe he himſelf, and moſt of his counſellors, diſapproved of Mondejar's lenity in ſo eaſily receiving the Moreſcoes into favour, or becauſe he did not incline to ſubject that nobleman's enemies to the mortification of ſeeing him ſtill continued in the ſupreme command, he reſolved to beſtow it upon his natural brother Don John of Auſtria.

THIS young prince, whoſe mother was a German, of the name of Blomberg, a native of Ratiſbon, had been educated privately by Lewis Quixada, lord of Villagarcia; for whoſe ſon he had paſſed, till Philip's arrival in Spain in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-nine. Soon after this, Philip having, agreeably to his father's requeſt, acknowledged Don John for his brother; had appointed him a houſehold ſuitable to his rank, and beſtowed the ſame attention on his education as on that of his own ſon.

RESEMBLING his father in the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and in the courteouſneſs of his manners, Don John diſcovered, from his youth, the love of arms; and gave many conſpicuous proofs of thoſe accompliſhments by which he became afterwards one of the moſt illuſtrious perſonages of the age[c].

BUT as at this time he was only about twenty-two years old, and did not poſſeſs any military experience, Philip, although he conferred upon him the title of commander in chief, forbad him to take the command of the troops into his own hands, and required,

[c] Strada, An. 1578.

that

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that in the whole management of the war he ſhould conform to the opinion of certain counſellors whom he appointed to aſſiſt him. Theſe were, the archbiſhop of Granada, Deza the preſident of the chancery, the duke de Seſſa, the marquis of Mondejar, and Don Lewis de Requeſens, the grand commendator of Caſtile, whom he named for Don John's lieutenant.

THE war was now proſecuted in different quarters at the ſame time, and a greater number of troops employed than formerly. But the ſucceſs was not anſwerable to the expectations that had been formed. The Moreſcoes diſcovered on many occaſions that they were not deſtitute of valour, and in ſome rencounters they came off victorious.

The Moreſcoes are entirely ſubdued.

DON JOHN, in the mean time, grown extremely impatient under the reſtraints which had been impoſed on him, endeavoured to perſuade the king to permit him to command the forces in perſon; and he at length obtained his requeſt. After which, having got his army reinforced, he himſelf marched againſt the Moreſcoes on one ſide, while Requeſens and the marquis De los Velez attacked them on another. But the Moreſcoes, undiſciplined, incompletely armed, and diſheartened by the diſappointment of their hopes of aſſiſtance from the Turks and Moors, were not a match for ſuch numerous regular forces as were now employed to reduce them, and their ruin was haſtened by the diſſentions of ſome of their leaders, and the treachery of others. Aben-Humeya was privately murdered by the friends of his wife, whoſe father he had put to death on account of his ſecret practices with the Spaniards. Another chief, called Aben-Aboo, was elected king in his ſtead; and *he* too ſuffered the ſame fate, from the hands of ſome of his officers, who hoped by this ſacrifice to atone for their

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rebellion. With the death of this leader, the war, which had laſted almoſt two years, was concluded [c].

NEITHER Don John nor Requeſens acquired any glory by their conduct in this war; nor did they preſerve themſelves free from that imputation of inhumanity and implacable revenge, which in this age was generally caſt upon the Spaniards.

No other apology can be offered for the dreadful ſeverities which they exerciſed, but that their conduct was conformable to the inſtructions given them by the king. For Philip had diſapproved of the lenity with which the Moreſcoes had been treated by the marquis of Mondejar, and, while he liſtened only to the voice of ſuperſtition or reſentment, forgot what every wiſe king will regard as the moſt ſacred maxim of his policy, that the ſtrength and glory of a prince depend on the number and proſperity of his ſubjects.

BUT this bigoted monarch ſet no bounds to his abhorrence of thoſe who deviated, or whom he ſuſpected of deviating, from the catholic faith. Agreeably to his inſtructions, great numbers of the Moreſcoes living peaceably in the plains of Granada, were, upon ſuſpicion of their correſponding with the inſurgents, put to death. All the inhabitants of ſome villages and diſtricts, men, women, and children, were extirpated. All the priſoners of both ſexes were either executed or deprived of their liberty. And of thoſe Moreſcoes who had refuſed to join in the rebellion, all but a few, without whom certain manufactures could not be carried

[c] In deſcribing this war, the Spaniſh hiſtorians have deſcended to the moſt minute detail. But amidſt the endleſs multiplicity of little events and incidents which they relate, there is almoſt no variety, and no diſplay either of courage or conduct that can intereſt a reader in the peruſal. This part of the Spaniſh hiſtory is beſides rendered peculiarly diſguſting by the numerous ſcenes of barbarous cruelty which it preſents.

on,

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on, were torn from their native homes, and tranſported into the interior provinces; where they were expoſed to the injuries and inſults of a haughty people, and many of them by their poverty reduced to a ſtate of dependence on the Caſtilians, which differed little from the condition of ſuch of their countrymen as had been ſold for ſlaves.

SUCH was the concluſion of this war; during which, notwithſtanding the great diſparity between the contending parties, Philip was expoſed to greater danger than at any other period of his reign. Had the Moreſcoes made themſelves maſters of the city of Granada, in their attempt on which they failed, more through chance and accident, than miſconduct or the want of ſtrength; or had they prevailed with Selim the Turkiſh emperor, to intereſt himſelf in their behalf; ſeveral towns in Andaluſia, and almoſt the whole kingdom of Valentia, which was moſtly inhabited by Moreſcoes, would have joined in the revolt; and, in that caſe, ſo great an army might have been raiſed, as, with the aſſiſtance of the Moors in Barbary, would have furniſhed employment for many years to all the forces which the king, who was at the ſame time engaged in war with his ſubjects in the Netherlands, could have collected to oppoſe them.

BUT fortunately for Philip, and perhaps for Chriſtendom, the Sultan was at this time intent upon proſecuting the war of Cyprus againſt the Venetians, and from that war he could not be diverted, although Mahomet, his grand Viſier, and the wiſeſt of all his courtiers, adviſed him earneſtly to ſuſpend the proſecution of it, and not to neglect the preſent happy opportunity of turning his arms againſt the king of Spain [d].

[d] Thuanus, lib. xlviii. Ferreras, An. 1568-9-70. Cabrera, lib. viii.

PART

PART II.

BOOK IX.

1571. War with the Turks.

IT was not long before Selim had reaſon to be ſorry that he had not liſtened to this advice, as Philip had no ſooner completed the reduction of the Moreſcoes, than he entered into an alliance againſt him with the republic of Venice, the pope, and ſeveral others of the Italian ſtates and princes. The papal throne was filled at this time by the celebrated Pius the Fifth, who by his merit had raiſed himſelf from obſcurity to the popedom; and though ſtrongly tinctured with ſome of the vices which characteriſed the eccleſiaſtics of that age, was endued with certain royal virtues which rendered him worthy of the exalted ſtation to which he had been advanced. Having been ſolicited by the Venetians, to employ his influence to procure aſſiſtance from the chriſtian princes againſt the Sultan, who, in the time of peace, and in violation of a ſolemn treaty, had invaded the iſle of Cyprus, Pius readily conſented to their requeſt, and, with a zeal becoming the head of the church, eſpouſed their cauſe.

HIS application, however, to moſt of the European monarchs was without effect. For, beſides that the ſeaſon of cruſades was now over, and that the moſt ſuperſtitious princes were, in that age, governed more by political views than religious zeal, he found almoſt all of them unable to grant the aſſiſtance which he ſolicited. The emperor Maximilian had lately concluded a truce with the Sultan, which it was greatly his intereſt to maintain. The attention of the French king, who had been long in alliance with the Porte, was ingroſſed by thoſe inveterate factions into

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which his kingdom was divided. Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, was too young; and Sigiſmund of Poland too much worn out with the infirmities of age to engage in any foreign enterpriſe. Philip was the only great prince in Europe with whom Pius had reaſon to expect ſucceſs in his preſent application. That monarch's zeal, as well as his power, was greater than that of any other European prince, and from the ſituation of his dominions, and the enmity which had long ſubſiſted between him and the Turkiſh Sultans, he had no leſs reaſon to dread the increaſe of the Ottoman power, than either the pope or the Venetians.

Philip's league with the pope and the Venetians.

WITHOUT heſitation therefore he reſolved to comply with the requeſt that was now made to him, and readily entered into an alliance, by which he bound himſelf to pay one half of the expence of that powerful armament which it was judged neceſſary to employ, while the republic of Venice engaged to defray three-fourths of the other half, and the pope the remainder.

THE preparations ſtipulated were carried on with the utmoſt celerity and diſpatch, and about the middle of September a fleet was ready to ſail from Meſſina, conſiſting of upwards of two hundred and fifty ſhips of war, beſides ſhips of burden, and, if we may believe the cotemporary hiſtorians, carrying near fifty thouſand men; fourteen thouſand of whom were furniſhed by the princes and ſtates of Italy.

THE chief command of this mighty armament was given to Don John of Auſtria, for whom the title of Generaliſſimo was invented on this occaſion. The Grand Commendator Requeſens was appointed his lieutenant, and under him were the marquis de Santa-Croce, Doria, M. Antony Colonna, commander of the pope's

pope's gallies, and Sebaſtian Veniero, who commanded thoſe of the Venetians. 1571.

THE aged pontiff, overjoyed to obſerve that his negociations had been attended with ſo great ſucceſs, indulged the moſt ſanguine hopes with regard to the iſſue of the war; and, as if he had received a revelation concerning it from Heaven, he exhorted Don John to embrace the firſt opportunity of engaging with the enemy, over whom he aſſured him he would obtain a complete victory. He ſent him at the ſame time a conſecrated ſtandard, and a number of eccleſiaſtics to officiate in ſacred things on board the ſhips; and ordered a faſt and jubilee to be proclaimed, with an abſolution from their ſins, to all who ſhould acquit themſelves with honour againſt the infidels.

Selim's preparations.

SELIM, on the other hand, exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in providing againſt ſo great a danger as now threatened to overwhelm him; and although a part of his troops were ſtill employed in reducing Cyprus, he was able, through the great reſources which he poſſeſſed, to equip a fleet ſtill more numerous than that of the chriſtian allies. Hali, to whom the chief command of it was given, arrived on the weſtern coaſt of Greece about the time when Don John ſet ſail from Sicily; and the two fleets came in ſight of each other, with a reſolution not to decline fighting, on the ſeventh of October, near the gulph of Lepanto.

The battle of Lepanto.

THE battle was begun by the two admirals, and their example was followed by all the other commanders, as faſt as the wind, or the general orders which they had received, would permit them to advance. Between Don John and the Baſha the engagement was bloody and obſtinate. After cannonading one another for ſome time, they came to cloſe fight, and grappled with each

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other. The Spaniſh ſoldiers thrice boarded the enemy's ſhip, and were thrice repulſed with great ſlaughter. But at laſt Don John having received a reinforcement of two hundred men from the marquis of Santa-Croce, the Turks were overpowered. Hali himſelf was killed, and all on board were either put to the ſword or taken priſoners. The creſcent of Mahomet was then taken down, and the ſtandard of the croſs erected in its ſtead; after which, Don John, in order to intimidate the enemy, gave orders to have the head of the Turkiſh admiral fixed upon a long pole, which was faſtened to the topmaſt; and ſhouts were ſent from ſhip to ſhip of triumph and victory.

THE contending parties were in the mean time engaged in every quarter in furious combat with each other, fighting hand to hand, as on a field of battle, and employing not only guns and muſkets, but arrows, pikes, javelins, and all the other, ancient as well as modern, weapons of war. Both Turks and chriſtians gave the moſt ſtriking diſplays of proweſs and intrepidity. Great numbers fell on both ſides, and the ſea for ſeveral miles was tinged with blood, and covered with mangled limbs and carcaſes. At laſt the chriſtians were almoſt every where victorious. The chriſtian ſlaves, by whom the Turkiſh gallies were rowed, took courage from the ſucceſs with which the arms of the allies were attended, broke looſe from their chains, and contributed not a little to fix the victory; while great numbers of the Spaniſh and Italian galley-ſlaves, prompted by the hopes of recovering their liberty, having obtained permiſſion from their officers, boarded and attacked the enemy with irreſiſtible fury, and diſplayed a contempt of danger with which nothing but deſpair, or the abhorrence of ſlavery, could have inſpired them. The Turks were at the ſame time greatly diſheartened by the loſs of their admiral;

and

and being tempted by the hopes of making their eſcape upon a coaſt inhabited by their fellow-ſubjects, many of them ran their ſhips aſhore, and left them an eaſy prey to the enemy. 1571.

Causes of the victory.

THE chriſtian fleet was much better manned than the Turkiſh, and the ſoldiers, having been a ſhorter time at ſea, were more freſh and vigorous. They were infinitely better furniſhed with mails and helmets, and made much more uſe of fire-arms than the enemy, many of whom were armed only with bows and arrows, the wounds inflicted by which were ſeldom mortal. The prows of the Turkiſh gallies were likewiſe more open and defenceleſs; and the wind, which at firſt was favourable, changed ſuddenly againſt them, and greatly facilitated the motions of the chriſtian fleet. From theſe cauſes, added to the fortunate bravery of Don John, ſeconded by the prudent and intrepid conduct of Requeſens, Santa-Croce, Colonna, and above all of Veniero, Barbarigo, and other noble Venetians, the allies gained the moſt memorable victory of which we read in the hiſtory of modern times.

The loſs on both ſides.

IT was not indeed obtained without conſiderable loſs. Near ten thouſand of the chriſtians were killed in the engagement, or died afterwards of their wounds. Among theſe was the Venetian Proveditor, Barbarigo, a nobleman equally celebrated for his wiſdom, his valour, and his moderation. His death was deeply lamented by the allies, and proved an irreparable misfortune to the common cauſe. But to compenſate for theſe loſſes, near fifteen thouſand chriſtians were delivered from captivity; and of the Turks, above five and twenty thouſand were killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. A hundred and thirty of their ſhips fell into the enemy's hands, and all the reſt were either ſunk or bat-

BOOK IX. 1571.

tered to pieces, or burnt, except between thirty and forty with which Ulucciali, the famous corſair, eſcaped to Conſtantinople, through his ſuperior ſkill in navigation and his knowledge of the ſeas.

THIS victory, gained over the implacable enemy of Chriſtendom, ſpread univerſal joy throughout all Europe; and Don John, to whom as commander in chief it was principally aſcribed, was celebrated every where as the greateſt hero of the age. No perſon had more reaſon to rejoice than Philip, yet he received the meſſenger with a cold indifference; which his contemporaries were not inclined to attribute to his moderation, ſo much as to that jealouſy of his brother's fame, of which he gave afterwards a more convincing proof. "Don John," ſaid he, "has gained the victory, but he hazarded too much: he might have loſt it." The pope's joy on this occaſion was more ſincere. When he received the news, he cried out, in the words of ſacred writ, "There was a man ſent from God whoſe name was John."

The allies return home.

BUT the fruits of this ſignal victory were not proportional to the joy which it excited. The ſeveral admirals differed widely from one another with regard to the meaſures proper to be taken in the further proſecution of the war. Although Don John had been honoured with the extraordinary title of Generaliſſimo, yet according to the treaty of alliance no matter of importance could be determined without the conſent of the other commanders. He would have ſailed immediately after the battle for the Dardanelles, to intercept the remains of the Turkiſh fleet, and to block up the communication between Conſtantinople and the Mediterranean; but the Venetians and other members of the council of

war refuſed to agree to this propoſal. Other enterpriſes were afterwards propoſed, and rejected; nor could they fix on any one common meaſure, but that of returning home, to repair the damage which had been ſuſtained, and to prepare for reſuming their operations in the ſpring.

Embaſſy of the Greeks to Don John.

NOT long after Don John's arrival at Meſſina, the chriſtians in Albania and Macedonia, filled with admiration of his character, and believing that it muſt be long before the Turks could recover from the blow which they had received, ſent an embaſſy to make him an offer of the ſovereignty over them, and to aſſure him, that, if he would come to their aſſiſtance with a fleet and army, they would ſhake off the Turkiſh yoke, and ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in his ſervice.

DON John, whoſe ruling paſſion was ambition, would gladly have accepted this tempting offer, but was obliged to inform the ambaſſadors, that before he could comply with their requeſt, the king muſt be conſulted, and his conſent obtained. He accordingly ſent immediate notice to his brother of the propoſal that had been made to him. And Philip, whether prompted by jealouſy, as was generally believed, or by motives of prudence and policy, as he gave out, put an end at once to any hopes which Don John might have conceived, by telling him, that at preſent all thoughts of ſuch an enterpriſe muſt be laid aſide, leſt the Venetians ſhould take the alarm, and abandon the confederacy. This, it is not improbable, would have happened, ſince the Venetians had no leſs reaſon to dread the neighbourhood of the Spaniards than of the Turks; and had beſides a claim themſelves to a part of thoſe territories, to the ſovereignty of which Don John aſpired.

IN

BOOK IX.

1571. Preparations of the Turks.

In the mean time Ulucciali, whom Selim had made commander in chief of all his naval forces, exerted himſelf with extraordinary vigour and activity in fitting out a new fleet, to ſupply the place of that which had been ruined in the battle of Lepanto; and ſuch at this time were the reſources of the Turkiſh empire, that he was ready by the month of April to leave Conſtantinople, with more than two hundred gallies, beſides a great number of other ſhips.

With this fleet he coaſted along Negropont, the Morea, and Epirus; put the maritime towns into a poſture of defence; chaſtiſed with great ſeverity many of thoſe chriſtians who had been concerned in the invitation given to Don John; and afterwards took his ſtation at Modon in the Morea, with an intention to watch there the motions of the enemy.

Inactivity of the allies.

He had full leiſure to finiſh all the preparations which he judged to be neceſſary. The allies diſputed long with one another concerning the plan of their future operations; and at laſt when, through the inactivity which their diſſenſions had occaſioned, it was become neceſſary for them to drop their ſcheme of conqueſt in Greece and Africa, and to go a ſecond time in queſt of the Turkiſh fleet, Philip having conceived a ſuſpicion that the court of France had, in order to gratify the Sultan, formed the deſign of attacking him in Piedmont, or the Netherlands, ſent inſtructions to Don John to delay for ſome time longer his departure from Meſſina. At this place the Spaniſh fleet remained till after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; when Philip, being delivered from his anxiety with regard to the intentions of the

Auguſt. 1572. French court, gave his brother permiſſion to join the Venetians,

and

and to act in concert with them in proſecuting the war againſt the Turks.

1568.

But it was the laſt day of Auguſt before the allies could effectuate a junction of their forces; and it was the middle of September before they came in ſight of the enemy. Immediately after their arrival on the Grecian coaſt, Ulucciali drew out his fleet, as if he intended to offer battle; but no ſooner had he made a ſingle diſcharge of his artillery, in the way of bravado or defiance, than he retired under the fortifications of Modon. Theſe he had ſtrengthened in ſuch a manner, as to render it extremely dangerous for the allies to approach; and he reſolved to lie in wait there for ſome favourable opportunity of attacking them, or at leaſt to keep his fleet in readineſs to haraſs and interrupt them, in caſe they ſhould attempt a deſcent.

They at laſt ſet ſail for Greece. Auguſt 1572.

Don John called a council of his general officers to conſider of the meaſures proper to be purſued in caſe the Turkiſh admiral ſhould perſiſt in his reſolution to decline fighting. It was thought impracticable to force their way into the harbour of Modon; and therefore it was reſolved to put the forces on ſhore, and to beſiege the town by land. But from this attempt they were ſoon deterred, by the information which they received from ſome troops ſent to reconnoitre the ſtrength of the place; which was ſo completely fortified, that they could not expect to reduce it before the approach of winter.

Ulucciali declines fighting.

It was next agreed to attempt the reduction of Navarino, which is another town on the weſtern coaſt of the Morea, not many miles from Modon. The conduct of this enterpriſe was committed to Alexander Farneſe, prince of Parma, who ſome years afterwards filled all Europe with his renown, and acquired

Siege of Navarino,

BOOK IX. 1568.

quired the character of one of the greateſt generals of this or perhaps of any other age. But the preſent undertaking did not afford him an opportunity of diſplaying thoſe ſuperior talents for which he is ſo juſtly celebrated. The garriſon was powerfully reinforced by detachments ſent from Modon; and ſo numerous an army was drawn together from the neighbouring towns, and ſent by Ulucciali to attack the beſiegers, that Farneſe, after battering the ramparts for ſeveral days, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and put his forces on board the fleet; which ſoon afterwards ſet ſail for Meſſina.

is raiſed.

Death of Pius.

SOME months before this time the league had ſuffered an irreparable loſs, by the death of the pope; whoſe ſucceſſor Gregory the XIIIth had neither the ſame zeal nor the ſame influence and authority. Gregory, however, entered readily into his predeceſſor's views, and ſhewed himſelf willing to purſue the plan which Pius had adopted. And Philip, who was now entirely free from his apprehenſions of a French invaſion, had reſolved to exert himſelf more than ever in the proſecution of the war. But the Venetians having been highly diſſatisfied with the inactivity of the Spaniſh fleet in the preceding ſummer; and finding that after a trial of two years they had, notwithſtanding the victory of Lepanto, derived little advantage from the war, to compenſate for the great expence which it had coſt them, they liſtened to propoſals made them by the French ambaſſador, and through his interceſſion concluded a ſeparate peace with the Sultan.

The Venetians make peace with the Turks.

THE pope and Don John expreſſed their indignation againſt the Venetians on this occaſion without reſerve. But Philip thought it beneath his dignity to diſcover either uneaſineſs or reſentment;

and when intelligence of the peace was brought him, he anſwered coolly, that he had entered into the league at the deſire of the ſovereign pontiff; and that, although the Venetians had thought proper to abandon it, he would ſtill employ his fleet and army as before, for the attainment of thoſe important ends, the humbling of the Infidels, and the ſecurity of Chriſtendom, with a view to which the confederacy had been formed.

AGREEABLY to this reſolution, he ſent orders to Don John, to Doria, and the marquis of Santa Croce, to employ their utmoſt diligence in repairing and augmenting the fleet, and to hold it ready for entering upon action in the ſpring. Theſe orders were punctually executed. Ulucciali, with the Turkiſh fleet, advanced as far as Preveſa in Epirus. But neither he nor the Spaniſh commanders thought it expedient to try their force in a general engagement. At length Ulucciali, after reinforcing the garriſons of the maritime towns, diſmiſſed the corſairs who had come to his aſſiſtance, and about the end of ſummer ſet ſail for Conſtantinople. After which Don John, agreeably to his inſtructions from the king, paſſed over to Africa, with an intention to undertake the reduction of Tunis; carrying with him for this purpoſe a fleet of two thouſand ſail, having twenty thouſand foot on board, beſides four hundred light horſe, ſeven hundred pioneers, and a numerous train of heavy artillery.

TUNIS was at this time in the hands of the Turks, commanded by Heder Baſha, whom Selim had lately ſent to govern the town and kingdom. Heder, ſeized with conſternation at the approach of the Spaniſh fleet, left Tunis with his troops and a great number of the inhabitants, and Don John took poſſeſſion of the place, without meeting with the ſmalleſt oppoſition.

BOOK IX.

1568. October 7.

PHILIP had inſtructed his brother, when he ſent him on this expedition, to deſtroy Tunis, and to ſtrengthen the fortifications of the iſle and fortreſs of Goletta[e]. But inſtead of complying with theſe inſtructions, Don John reſolved to fortify the town more ſtrongly than ever; and having laid the foundations of a new fort, or citadel, he treated all the inhabitants who remained with lenity and indulgence; and engaged many of thoſe who had fled, to return and ſubmit to the Spaniſh government; after which he carried back his fleet to Sicily.

HE ſoon diſcovered his intention in acting a part ſo contrary to the orders of the king. His ſucceſs in an enterpriſe in which the late emperor had failed, though entirely owing to the cowardice of the Turkiſh governor, had inflamed his ambition; and he had conceived the hopes that his brother would be perſuaded to grant him the title and dignity of king of Tunis, in compenſation for the ſovereignty of Greece, which he had prevented him from accepting. The pope, it is ſaid, had diſapproved of Philip's reſolution to demoliſh Tunis; and had ſecretly encouraged Don John to venture upon diſobeying him; from an opinion that the erecting a chriſtian kingdom in Barbary, would prove the moſt effectual means of extirpating the piratical ſtates. It is certain that Gregory warmly ſolicited Philip to confer upon his brother the ſovereignty of his new conqueſt, and repreſented that all Chriſtendom, and eſpecially Spain and Italy, would from thence derive the moſt ſubſtantial advantages.

PHILIP was conſcious that, notwithſtanding his copious reſources, it was beyond his power, while the war in the Nether-

[e] The Goletta, which is ſituated at the entrance of the bay of Tunis, had been in the hands of the Spaniards ever ſince it was conquered by the emperor Charles.

lands

laads ſubſiſted, to effectuate the eſtabliſhment of a new kingdom in oppoſition to ſo potent an enemy as the Turkiſh Sultan. And he had deſired the fortifications of Tunis to be diſmantled, in order to ſave the expence of a numerous garriſon, which would be neceſſary for its defence. He did not, however, expreſs great reſentment againſt his brother for counteracting his inſtructions. But when the pope interceded with him to confer the ſovereignty on Don John, he replied, "That, although no perſon could be more ſincerely concerned than himſelf, for his brother's honour and intereſt; yet there was much ground to doubt, whether either the one or the other would be advanced by his complying with the pope's requeſt; and that he could not grant it, till he ſhould know whether he was able to maintain the acquiſition that had been made, againſt the formidable armament which the Sultan was preparing for its recovery." The prudence of this reply, whether it did or did not proceed from ſome ſecret motive of jealouſy againſt his brother, was fully juſtified by the iſſue.

Tunis and the Goletta taken by the Turks.

In the ſummer following, Selim ſent Ulucciali againſt Tunis, with a fleet conſiſting of three hundred ſhips, having about forty thouſand troops on board, under the command of his ſon-in-law Sinan Baſha. The new fort which Don John had begun to build, was not yet complete. Nor was the garriſon which he had left ſtrong enough to hold out long againſt ſo great a force. Don John laboured with much zeal and anxiety in aſſembling the Spaniſh fleet, with an intention to raiſe the ſiege, but he was detained for ſeveral weeks, firſt in one harbour, and afterwards in another, by tempeſtuous weather and contrary winds. The Turks in the mean time being powerfully ſeconded by many thouſand Moors, under the governor of Tripoli and the

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the viceroy of Algiers, puſhed forward their operations at the ſame time againſt Tunis and the Goletta. The garriſons defended themſelves long with the utmoſt bravery; but at laſt they were overpowered by numbers, and both the Goletta and the town were taken by aſſault.

Don John was affected in the moſt ſenſible manner by this diſaſter; which ſhewed him the folly of his late preſumption, and extinguiſhed thoſe flattering hopes which he had long indulged of attaining ſome regal or ſovereign eſtabliſhment. His mortification on this occaſion was the greater, becauſe, after his moſt vigorous efforts, the Spaniſh fleet was ſtill too weak to enable him to take vengeance on the enemy. Philip, for the ſame reaſon, dreaded that the Turkiſh commanders would purſue their conqueſts, and either attack his other poſſeſſions in Africa, or attempt a deſcent in Naples or Sicily; and it is probable that his apprehenſions would have proved but too well founded, had not Selim died about this time, and left his throne to his ſon Amurath the Third; who devoted the beginning of his reign to the arts of peace [f].

[f] Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Ottoman empire. Antonio Herrera; and Ferreras in hoc anno. Miniana, lib. vii.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK X.

DURING the courſe of the tranſactions related in the preceding book, a variety of important events happened in the Netherlands, which require a more circumſtantial narration.

BOOK X.

1568. Affairs of the Netherlands.

In oppoſing the prince of Orange and count Lewis of Naſſau, it was confeſſed even by the duke of Alva's enemies, that he acted with the moſt conſummate prudence; and if his conduct afterwards had been equally prudent, he might, notwithſtanding the general odium which his tyranny had excited againſt him, have preſerved the Netherlands in obedience to his authoriry. For if ſuch of the people as were diſaffected to his government remained quiet while the prince of Orange was at hand to favour their attempts, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that, after all their hopes of aſſiſtance were extinguiſhed, they would have ever dared to diſpute his will. And indeed the ſpirits of this unhappy people, at the

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the preſent period, ſeem to have been ſo entirely broken, and their minds ſo deeply impreſſed with awe and terror, that nothing could have inſpired them with the courage which they afterwards diſplayed, but inſolence and oppreſſion carried to the moſt enormous height.

Alva's vanity and arrogance.

As ſoon as the army of the prince of Orange was diſbanded, Alva diſmiſſed his German cavalry, and having diſtributed the greateſt part of his infantry into winter-quarters, he ſet out himſelf with the remainder for Bruſſels; where, after a triumphant entry, he ordered his victory to be celebrated with every ſpecies of rejoicing. He then commanded a ſolemn thankſgiving for the ſucceſs which had attended his arms to be obſerved through all the provinces; and ordered a ſtatue of himſelf to be formed in braſs, and medals to be ſtruck, which, while they ſerved to perpetuate the memory of his exploits, gave proof of a degree of vanity and arrogance, which put his friends to the bluſh, and made the world unwilling to yield him that praiſe which his vigour and abilities would have procured him [b]. One of the firſt acts

[b] In one of the medals he was repreſented riding in a triumphal chariot, with a Victory behind him putting a crown upon his head. In his right-hand he held a ſword, to ſignify that he had conquered count Lewis by open force; and in the left, an ægis, to expreſs that wiſdom of which he had availed himſelf againſt the prince of Orange: and as a farther emblem of his wiſdom, the chariot was drawn by owls, which in the ancient heathen ſuperſtition were ſacred to Minerva.

But his ſtatue, which was made at this time, and afterwards placed in the citadel of Antwerp, afforded a ſtill more ſtriking proof of his vanity and arrogance. It was the workmanſhip of Jockeling, a German artiſt, the moſt celebrated ſculptor of the age. The governor was repreſented trampling under his feet the figure of a monſter, having certain emblematical ſigns in different parts, which denoted the petition which had been preſented to the dutcheſs of Parma, the compromiſe, and the inſurrection and tumults which enſued. The baſe of the work was a ſquare pillar of marble, containing on one ſide the artiſt's name, and on the other three ſides an encomium of the duke of Alva; who is there ſaid to have extinguiſhed hereſy and rebellion, to have ſaved the church from deſtruction, and reſtored juſtice and tranquillity to the Netherlands.

acts of his administration after his return to Brussels, was to determine the fate of the prisoners whom he had taken during the campaign; and all such of them as were inhabitants of the Netherlands were treated as rebels, and put to death. BOOK X. 1568.

His tyranny.

A STRICT inquiry was set on foot, to discover those who had, either by word or deed, whilst the war subsisted, shewn their inclinations favourable to the prince of Orange. And as the issue of the war had remained long uncertain, and fortune had sometimes favoured one side and sometimes another, many persons had unwarily given vent both to their hopes and to their fears; little suspecting that they were to be called to so rigorous an account for unguarded expressions, uttered among their friends and neighbours, which were now imputed to them as the most atrocious crimes. The people of the Low-Countries had long enjoyed the privilege of not being tried by any judges, but those of the city or district to which they belonged; and no citizen could be put to death who had not confessed his crime. No regard was paid to either of these privileges. Persons of all ranks were hurried from the places of their residence, and carried to so great a distance as made it impossible for them to disprove the accusations brought against them, however groundless. Great numbers were seized on bare suspicion; many suffered death on the slightest evidence;

lands. This monument of Alva's vanity was far from being acceptable to the king; it was a subject of derision among his enemies at the court of Spain; and in the Flemings, it excited the highest resentment and indignation *.

It appears from Grotius, that about this time the duke made several useful regulations with regard to trade, the coin, and the liberty of the press; but they failed in promoting the purposes for which they were intended, and even the memory of them was soon effaced by the violence of the measures which he afterwards pursued.

* Bentivoglio, p. 86. Van Loon, tom. i. p. 135. Strada, p. 250.

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1568.

and others were haraſſed with proſecutions, by which they were reduced to the utmoſt poverty and diſtreſs [c].

The Netherlands deſerted by great numbers of the people.

THE iniquity and unrelenting cruelty exerciſed by the inquiſitors diffuſed an univerſal terror over all the provinces. Not only the proteſtants, but likewiſe all who had ever ſhewn themſelves attached to the liberty of their country, ſaw, that nothing leſs would ſatisfy the governor than their utter ruin. It would not avail them, they perceived, to conceal their ſentiments, nor even to diſclaim them; ſince many of thoſe who had done ſo, had been puniſhed with death and confiſcation; and had received no other favour from the judges, but that of having ſuffered by the ſword or halter, inſtead of being committed to the flames. Determined by theſe conſiderations, great numbers of both ſexes abandoned their habitations, and withdrew into foreign parts. We ought not, perhaps, to believe what ſome hiſtorians relate, that no leſs than a hundred thouſand houſes were forſaken by the inhabitants. It is however certain, that ſeveral of the principal cities were ſenſibly thinner, and ſome whole villages and ſmaller towns were rendered almoſt deſolate. Many of thoſe who left the Netherlands went over to England, where they were well received

[c] The negligence which the judges diſcovered in the ſentences which they paſſed againſt the unhappy victims delivered over to them by the inquiſitors, and in the warrants which they ſigned for their execution, would be incredible, if the many inſtances recorded by the contemporary hiſtorians did not put it beyond all doubt. An order was iſſued at this time for executing ſeveral of the priſoners who had been condemned. In the liſt of their names the name of one man was inſerted whoſe cauſe had not been tried, and he too was led to execution. Some time after, the judges gave orders to have this man brought before them for his trial. They were informed, that, in obedience to their former command, he had already ſuffered death; and proof was at the ſame time laid before them of his innocency. Moſt of the judges expreſſed on this occaſion great uneaſineſs; but Vargas, the Spaniſh lawyer, obſerved, that what had happened, if rightly conſidered, ought not to give them much concern, ſince it was happy for the man's ſoul that he had died innocent.

by

by Elizabeth. And as in that country they enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religion, they fixed their reſidence in it; and amply rewarded the Engliſh for the protection afforded them, by introducing among that people various branches of manufacture, with which they had before been unacquainted.

THE Low-Countries ſuffered extremely from this emigration of the inhabitants. But the duke of Alva, far from being deterred by this conſideration from the proſecution of his plan, was at pains to prevent the return of the exiles, and even prohibited from returning all ſuch of their friends as had gone to viſit them, by publiſhing an edict, ſetting forth, that they ſhould be conſidered as holding intercourſe with rebels, and ſhould be liable to the puniſhment due to thoſe who gave aſſiſtance to the enemies of the king.

THE governor's vanity was flattered about this time, by an embaſſy which came from the pope, to preſent him a conſecrated hat and ſword. This ſort of preſent, which uſed to be beſtowed only upon princes, was conferred on the duke of Alva, as an illuſtrious defender of the popiſh faith; and it contributed to confirm him in the purſuit of thoſe ſanguinary meaſures, which had procured him ſuch a diſtinguiſhed honour.

The reſt entirely ſubdued.

BUT there was now almoſt no occaſion for employing meaſures of this kind in his government of the Netherlands. All perſons who had rendered themſelves obnoxious to his diſpleaſure, had either been put to death, or had gone into a voluntary baniſhment; while thoſe who remained had ſhewn themſelves ready to yield an implicit and entire obedience to his will. The new biſhops, the decrees of the council of Trent, the rites and ceremonies of the Romiſh church, were received and eſtabliſhed throughout all the provinces.

BOOK X.

1568. Anxiety of the queen of England.

THIS ſucceſs of the duke of Alva's arms and counſels gave great uneaſineſs to ſome of the neighbouring princes, and particularly to the queen of England. That wiſe princeſs had from the beginning of her reign beheld with anxiety the growing power of the Spaniſh monarchy. She knew how much Philip was inclined to diſturb her government, and was ſenſible of the advantage which the vicinity of his dominions in the Netherlands afforded him, for carrying any ſcheme which he might form againſt her into execution; eſpecially at the preſent period, when, inſtead of the limited prerogative which he had hitherto enjoyed in theſe provinces, he had acquired an abſolute or deſpotic power, and eſtabliſhed a military force, which was formidable to the neighbouring nations, as well as to the people whom it had been employed to ſubdue. Prompted by theſe conſiderations, Elizabeth had granted her protection to the Flemiſh exiles; and, if we may credit ſome hiſtorians, ſhe had given ſecret aſſiſtance in money to the prince of Orange. The ſituation of her affairs at home, where ſhe was diſquieted by the machinations of the partiſans of the queen of Scots, rendered it inexpedient for her to come to an open breach with the Spaniſh monarch; but notwithſtanding this, ſhe had reſolved to lay hold of the firſt proper opportunity that ſhould occur of counteracting his deſigns.

She ſeizes money belonging to Philip.

IT was not long before an occaſion of this kind offered, which ſhe readily embraced. Some merchants of Genoa having engaged to tranſmit certain ſums of money for Philip's uſe into the Netherlands, had put four hundred thouſand crowns on board five ſmall veſſels, which, being attacked on their way to Antwerp by privateers belonging to the prince of Condé, were obliged to take ſhelter in the harbours of Plymouth and Southampton. The Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of London immediately applied for a ſafe-conduct,

conduct, that he might ſend the money by the neareſt way to the Low-Countries;. and at firſt Elizabeth ſeemed willing to grant his requeſt; but afterwards ſhe ordered the ambaſſador to be told, that, as ſhe underſtood that the money was the property of the Italian merchants, ſhe had reſolved to detain it for ſome time in her own hands, and would take care that the owners ſhould not have any reaſon to complain. The ambaſſador endeavoured to make it appear, that the money belonged to the king his maſter; and he was ſeconded in his applications for it by letters addreſſed to the queen from the duke of Alva. Elizabeth lent a deaf ear to their remonſtrances, and diſcovered plainly, that ſhe had reſolved to keep the money. Alva was not of a temper to bear patiently this inſult. It was ever more agreeable to his nature, to conquer difficulties, than to attempt, by negociation, to elude them. Without regard to the treaties ſubſiſting between the Engliſh and the Flemings, and without conſulting either the States or council of the Netherlands, he ordered all the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp to be caſt into priſon, and their effects to be confiſcated. He did not conſider, or he was not moved by the conſideration, that the Flemings had at that time a much greater quantity of goods in England, than the Engliſh poſſeſſed in Flanders. Elizabeth had no reaſon therefore to be ſorry for what had happened. But ſhe diſpatched an ambaſſador to Philip, to complain of the injury done to her; and not receiving ſatisfaction, ſhe proceeded to make repriſals, and ſeized effects, belonging to Spaniſh and Flemiſh merchants, by which her ſubjects were more than compenſated for all the loſſes which they had ſuſtained in Flanders. Alva came at laſt to perceive his error, and ſent over Chriſtopher Aſſonville to England, to negociate an agreement with the queen. Elizabeth, who took pleaſure to

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mortify the pride of Alva, refuſed to admit Aſſonville into her preſence, becauſe he had not credentials from Philip. Alva, more enraged than ever by this affront, prohibited the people in the Low-Countries from holding any commercial intercourſe with the Engliſh; but at laſt, after various negociations, the matter was adjuſted by treaty, and the trade put upon its former footing, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-four [d].

In the mean time Elizabeth gained her end, and did a moſt material prejudice to Philip's intereſt in the Netherlands. This prejudice was indeed much greater than ſhe intended, and was accompanied with more important conſequences than ſhe could poſſibly foreſee. Great arrears were due to the Spaniſh troops, and Alva had contracted a conſiderable debt by building citadels. Philip's treaſury, although the richeſt in Europe, was exhauſted by the expenſive wars in which he had been engaged againſt the Turks and Moors; nor could he at preſent afford the money requiſite for the maintenance of his forces in Flanders. In this ſituation, the governor found it neceſſary to have recourſe to the Flemings, whom he believed to be ſo thoroughly ſubdued, that they would not refuſe to comply with any demand which he could make upon them.

The taxes of the 10th and 20th pennies.

The abſurdity and folly, added to the oppreſſion and tyranny, into which his arrogance, together with his ignorance of the intereſts of a commercial people, betrayed him on this occaſion, may juſtly be regarded as the chief cauſe of all the difficulties which he afterwards encountered, and of all thoſe aſtoniſhing exertions which the people made to free themſelves from the

[d] Meteren, p. 80. Strada, p. 252. Bentivoglio, p. 80.

Spaniſh

Spaniſh yoke. It may appear ſurpriſing, that the impoſing of taxes, however burdenſome, ſhould have wrought more powerfully on their minds, than the cruel perſecutions which had been exerciſed with ſuch unrelenting fury on account of religion. But the reaſon is obvious. The perſecutions extended only to a certain number of individuals; whereas the taxes affected all men alike, and muſt have proved the ſource of univerſal and perpetual oppreſſion.

THE people in the Low-Countries had in no period been accuſtomed to be taxed by their princes. The power of impoſing taxes belonged, by the conſtitution and conſtant practice, to the aſſembly of the States. And when the prince had occaſion for money, he had been accuſtomed, from the earlieſt times, to petition the States for a ſupply, which they either granted or refuſed, as they were ſatisfied or diſpleaſed with the reaſons for demanding it. At certain periods, and particularly in the beginning of the preſent reign, they had carried their jealouſy of this important privilege ſo far, as to appoint commiſſioners of their own to receive the money from the people, and to ſee it applied to the purpoſes for which it had been granted. The duke of Alva paid no greater regard to this than he had done to their other privileges. He reſolved by his own authority, to eſtabliſh taxes, ſufficient not only to ſupply his preſent neceſſity, but to ſerve as a perpetual fund for defraying all the expences of his government.

THE manner in which theſe taxes were impoſed was not more arbitrary, than the taxes themſelves were oppreſſive. They were three in number. The firſt was a tax of one *per cent.* on all goods, whether moveable or immoveable. The ſecond, of twenty

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per cent. to be paid annually, of all immoveable goods, or heritage. And the third, of ten *per cent.* of all moveable goods, to be paid on every ſale. It was enacted, that the firſt of theſe taxes ſhould be paid only once; but it was ordained, that the other two ſhould continue as long as the public exigencies ſhould require.

Excite univerſal diſcontent.

INTIMATION was made of theſe demands, in the name of the king, to an aſſembly of the States; and it is impoſſible to deſcribe the aſtoniſhment which they excited. The deputies knew not what anſwer to return; and therefore deſired time to conſider of the governor's requiſitions, and to tranſmit an account of them to their conſtituents. They were received every where with grief and indignation; and there was nothing to be heard but the bittereſt lamentations over all the provinces.

"IT was not enough, they complained, for the king to have ſtripped the country of infinite numbers of the people; to have filled the provinces with foreign ſoldiers, and to have wreathed the yoke about the necks of the inhabitants, by garriſons and citadels; but they muſt likewiſe bear the charge of ſupporting thoſe inſtruments of their oppreſſion; and for this purpoſe, inſtead of the voluntary and moderate contributions which they had been wont to pay under former princes, be loaded for ever with the moſt violent and oppreſſive taxes. Notwithſtanding the injuſtice with which they had been treated from the beginning of the governor's adminiſtration, yet, during his conteſt with the princes of Naſſau, they had remained unſhaken in their fidelity to the king, and even co-operated with his forces againſt the enemy; but it now appeared that their moſt implacable enemy was the king himſelf; who ſeemed to deſire nothing ſo much, as

to

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to reduce them to a ſtate of the moſt wretched ſlavery; and in order to accompliſh an end ſo cruel and inglorious, had ſent among them the duke of Alva, whoſe conduct ſeemed rather as if he had come to extirpate the inhabitants, than to govern or protect them. But they had already borne too much. It was time to ſhew that they had not been inſenſible of the treatment which they had received, and that they were not altogether unworthy of their illuſtrious anceſtors, to whoſe wiſdom and valour they were indebted for thoſe invaluable privileges, of which the king, and the odious inſtruments of his tyranny, now wanted to deprive them *.

Oppoſition of the aſſembly of the States.

WHEN the States found that the new taxes were ſo univerſally diſagreeable to their conſtituents, they took courage, and repreſented their own ſentiments concerning them to the governor. They reminded him of the diſturbances which had ariſen from an attempt to eſtabliſh the tax of the hundredth penny, in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-ſix; when perſons of all ranks diſcovered an irreconcilable averſion to it, not only on account of the exorbitancy of the tax itſelf, but becauſe it reduced them to the diſagreeable neceſſity of laying open their private affairs. There was ſtill greater reaſon, they obſerved, for being diſſatisfied with the other taxes; and eſpecially that of the tenth part of moveable goods, to be paid at every ſale. This was not only ſuch a tax as had been never known in the Low-Countries, but would prove a burden which it would be utterly impoſſible to ſupport. It would amount, in many caſes, nearly to the value of the commodities themſelves; ſince the ſame commodities were often transferred from one perſon to another, and from him to a

* Bentivoglio, p. 82.

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third, a fourth, a fifth, a ſixth, before they came into the hands of the conſumer. In woollen manufactures this was unavoidable; the wool was purchaſed by one ſet of manufacturers; the yarn by another; the cloth, before it was dyed, by a third; then it was ſold to the merchant; by him, to the retailer; and by the retailer to his cuſtomers for uſe; and thus the tax propoſed would amount to ſix or ſeven tenths of the full value of the commodity. Several conſequences, fatal to the proſperity of the people, would enſue. Foreigners would no longer purchaſe their manufactures, becauſe they could not ſell them at the uſual prices. The manufacturers and merchants would fly from a country where they were ſo grievouſly oppreſſed; and the Flemings would be obliged to have recourſe to foreign nations for thoſe commodities with which foreigners had hitherto been ſupplied by them. Thus the ſources of their wealth would in a little time be dried up; and, as they would not have any manufactures of their own, ſo they could not long poſſeſs the means of purchaſing them from others. To theſe reaſons they added another, taken from the great expence and difficulty with which the collection of the tax propoſed muſt be attended. A multitude of tax-gatherers muſt be employed; the people would ſtill find it practicable, in numberleſs caſes, to elude the tax; and the tranquillity of the provinces would be continually diſturbed with altercations and diſputes.

In anſwer to this remonſtrance, Alva, with much ignorance and haughtineſs, replied, that nothing could convince him that the taxes required would be ſo oppreſſive as had been repreſented; ſince it was evident, that he demanded only one part of ten for the king, and left the remaining parts to the people. That in his

town

town of Alva in Spain, the tax of the tenth penny was actually paid, and yielded him an yearly rent of between forty and fifty thouſand ducats. That if ſuch a revenue as he expected ſhould ariſe from it in the Netherlands, he would deliver the people from all their other taxes. That he had often heard the late emperor complain of the difficulty of procuring money from his ſubjects in the Low-Countries; and that, in order to obtain it, he had been conſtrained to grant them privileges greatly prejudicial to his authority. But at preſent there was no room for remonſtrances. Great arrears were due to his troops; ſeveral new forts muſt be built without delay for the ſecurity of the country; money for theſe purpoſes muſt be immediately procured, and he could not deviſe any more effectual means of raiſing it, than the taxes which were propoſed [f].

Such was the governor's reply to the aſſembly of the States; but being ſenſible of the difficulties which attended his plan, he laid it before the council, and deſired the counſellors to conſider of the moſt effectual method of carrying it into execution. There were ſome of them, who, in order to ingratiate themſelves with the duke, exhorted him to perſiſt in his deſign. And theſe men adviſed him to endeavour firſt to gain over ſuch of the provinces as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their loyalty; ſaying, that *their* example would ſoon be followed by the other provinces, who would dread incurring the imputation of diſaffection.

But moſt of the counſellors were of a contrary opinion, and particularly the preſident Viglius; a miniſter of long experience in the Netherlands, and of undoubted fidelity to the king. "The objections," he ſaid, "which had been urged againſt the taxes

[f] Meteren, p. 89.

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were unanſwerable; for there was the wideſt difference between the kingdom of Spain, and the Low-Country provinces. The wealth of Spain conſiſted in the great extent of its territory and the fertility of its ſoil. It was divided from other kingdoms, either by inacceſſible mountains, or by the ocean. It was complete within itſelf, and independent of any connexion with other countries. Whereas the Netherlands were of ſuch ſmall extent, as to be utterly inſufficient to ſupport the inhabitants. They were ſituated in the heart of Europe, and had ſo many different nations bordering upon them, that, if trade were diſcouraged or oppreſſed, the manufacturers and merchants could eaſily, and would certainly, tranſplant themſelves, together with their arts, to the countries which lay around them. This conſequence was to be dreaded from much leſs burdenſome impoſitions than thoſe that were propoſed; which were ſuch as had never taken place in any commercial ſtate, and to which, he was confident, the people of the Low-Countries would never be perſuaded to ſubmit. I ſpeak thus (continued he) prompted by a concern for the intereſt of the king, as well as by a regard to the proſperity of the Netherlands; for there is the greateſt reaſon to apprehend, that if the governor ſhall not depart from his reſolution, trade will ſoon be reduced ſo low, that the people will be diſabled from furniſhing the ſupplies requiſite for the purpoſes of government [z]."

THIS ſpeech of Viglius ſerved rather to incenſe the duke of Alva than to convince him. Without regarding either the dignity of the ſpeaker, or the ſtrength of his arguments, he vouchſafed to make no other anſwer, but that, long before this time,

[z] Meurſii Abbanus, p. 35. Bentivoglio, p. 83.

he had reſolved upon the taxes in diſpute, and had communicated his reſolution to the counts Barlaimont and Noircarmes, before he came into the Low-Countries. His purpoſe was unalterably fixed, and thoſe who were friends to the king muſt, without any further altercation, exert their endeavours to bring the States to a compliance with his will. 1569.

WHEN the States found that the governor was equally deaf to the remonſtrances of the preſident, as he had been to theirs, they began to dread the effects of his diſpleaſure; and in order to ſooth his reſentment, they gave their conſent to the tax of the hundredth penny; intreating him, at the ſame time, to paſs from the other taxes, and repreſenting again, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the ruinous conſequences which would attend them. But he was ſtill as inexorable as ever; although he condeſcended on this occaſion to make a trial of ſome ſofter expedients, before he ſhould have recourſe to thoſe of a more violent nature, which, in caſe of neceſſity, he was determined to employ.

IN the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, Philip, with the advice of the inquiſitors at Madrid, had pronounced a general ſentence againſt his ſubjects in the Netherlands, finding them obnoxious to juſtice, and depriving them of their fortunes, rights, and privileges. By this extraordinary ſentence, which, from the nature of it, was incapable of being executed, he had kept this unhappy people in perpetual anxiety; but at laſt, believing their ſpirits to be thoroughly ſubdued, and dreading the utter deſolation of the provinces, he had reſolved to publiſh a general indemnity; and, ſome months before the preſent period, had tranſmitted it to the duke of Alva, together with a confirmation of it by the pope. The duke thought that he

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he could not publiſh this indemnity at a more ſeaſonable juncture; and he flattered himſelf that it would ſerve to conciliate the favour of the people, and make it eaſier for him to overcome their averſion to the taxes. It was firſt made public in the city of Antwerp; where the governor, ſeated on a lofty throne, ſurrounded with a degree of pomp which no former governor had aſſumed, ordered it to be read in the preſence of a prodigious concourſe of people, who had come from all quarters to hear it, full of the moſt anxious expectation. It was afterwards printed and diſperſed over all the provinces. But it was extremely ill-calculated to promote the purpoſe deſigned; and was clogged with ſuch a number of exceptions, as tended rather to awaken the fears of the people, than to allay or remove them.

FROM the benefit of it were excluded, not only all the preachers of the reformed religion, but likewiſe all thoſe who had ever lodged or entertained them in their houſes; all who had been concerned in breaking the images, or in violating the monaſteries and churches; all who had ſubſcribed the compromiſe, the petition of the nobles, or any other ſuch bond of aſſociation; and laſtly, all thoſe who had given aſſiſtance, or ſhewn favour, by word, deed, or writing, to the enemies of the king. Such were the exceptions that regarded individuals; and with reſpect to cities and communities, it was declared, that if any of them ſhould be found to have been acceſſory to the late diſorders, on the pretence of maintaining their privileges, the king reſerved to himſelf the power of puniſhing or forgiving them, as he ſhould judge expedient.

How received.

IT is not ſurprizing that an act of indemnity ſuch as this, ſhould have failed to produce any ſalutary effect. Perſons of all ranks

ranks were highly offended with that open declaration which it contained, that they had forfeited their privileges. There were many who, although they themſelves had ever been zealouſly attached to the Catholic religion, were connected by the moſt endearing ties with thoſe who had forſaken it. Prompted by natural affection, gratitude, or humanity, they had done offices of kindneſs to their friends and neighbours, for which they were now made equally liable to puniſhment, as if they had been guilty of the moſt enormous crimes. Their minds therefore were thrown into a greater ferment than ever; and they were diſpoſed to regard the pardon which had been proclaimed, rather as an inſult added to the injuries which they had received, than as an act of clemency and mercy[h].

The duke of Alva conſidered it in a light extremely different, and ſoon afterwards reſolved to make trial, whether it had produced the deſired effect. With this view he ordered the ſeveral governors to inform the States of their reſpective provinces, that the ſituation of his affairs required an immediate and large ſupply, and that they muſt proceed to the raiſing of the tax of the tenth penny, without any further remonſtrance or delay. With the different provinces, however, he thought proper to employ very different means of perſuaſion. As the inhabitants of Namur, Artois, and Hainault, had, from the beginning, been extremely ſubmiſſive to his will, he deſired the counts Barlaimont and Noircarmes to acquaint them, that he wiſhed to obtain their conſent to the tax, more for an example of obedience to the other provinces, than from any intention to levy it upon *them*; who had deſerved ſo well of him by their fidelity. But he delivered his

[h] Meteren, p. 84. Bentivoglio, p. 85.

orders

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orders in a much more peremptory tone to the other provinces. He would take care, he ſaid, in levying the tax, to prevent the conſequences which they apprehended might ariſe from it; and would aboliſh it, if he found it hurtful to their trade. In the mean time it was the will of the king that it ſhould be impoſed. The king had inveſted him with power to exact it; and he was unalterably determined to employ that power for the purpoſe for which it had been conferred. He concluded with reminding them of the guilt which they had contracted during the late commotions; and bid them eſteem it a happineſs that they were now allowed to atone for their folly, by giving a *part* of their ſubſtance, when the king might in juſtice have ſeized the *whole*.

The General States intimidated.

BY theſe promiſes and threats an aſſent was at laſt extorted; but it was given upon two conditions, that all the provinces, without exception, ſhould agree to the taxes; and that the governor ſhould, according to his promiſe, moderate them in ſuch a manner, that no prejudice could ariſe from them to the trade or manufactures of the Netherlands. The only provinces which rejected theſe conditions were thoſe of Utrecht and Brabant. And the former of theſe diſcovered, in the progreſs of this affair, a firmneſs and intrepidity that deſerves to be recorded.

The reſolute conduct of the ſtates of Utrecht.

SOON after the governor's orders were communicated to the States of Utrecht, they ſent ambaſſadors to repreſent, that having taken his demand under their moſt ſerious conſideration, they were unable to conceive how it could poſſibly be granted. The territory of Utrecht, they ſaid, was ſmall; the inland parts of it were barren, and the other parts were preſerved from the fury of the waters at an immenſe expence. Although they had but lately

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lately become ſubject to the houſe of Auſtria, yet, in order to raiſe the tributes impoſed upon them by the late emperor and the preſent king, they had been obliged to contract a very large debt, which they had never been able to repay. During the late diſturbances, they had ſuffered more than the other provinces; their city had been forſaken by its moſt induſtrious inhabitants, and their trade, which was never great, almoſt annihilated. But as they knew the neceſſity of the governor's affairs, and were ſenſible how much they had been indebted to him for reſtoring tranquillity to the Netherlands, they were willing to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt extent of their ability, and would engage to pay him yearly a hundred thouſand florins for ſix years; provided they were freed from all other burdens during that time.

THIS offer the governor rejected with ſcorn and indignation. The States then ſent another embaſſy, to inform him, that they had conſidered fully of what they could afford; they had flattered themſelves that their offer would have met with a favourable acceptance; they were conſcious of having given the ſtrongeſt proof of an inclination to comply with his deſire; but, whatever ſhould be the conſequence, they muſt now declare, that it was beyond their power to offer more. And in this declaration, the preſidents of the five churches concurred; proteſting, that they could not agree to the taxes propoſed, without incurring the cenſure of excommunication, which was denounced in the pope's bull [h], *in cœna Domini*, not only againſt thoſe who impoſed taxes on the revenues of the church, but againſt thoſe likewiſe who ſubmitted to them. But the governor paid no greater regard to this proteſtation of the eccleſiaſtics, than to the remonſtrances of

[h] Publiſhed by Pius V. anno 1568.

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the States. It provoked him exceedingly, to meet with ſuch obſtinate reſiſtance from ſo inconſiderable a province as Utrecht. He had threatened to employ force, and he now reſolved to put his threat in execution.

He began with ſending to the city of Utrecht a regiment of infantry, conſiſting of two thouſand four hundred men; who, beſides exacting the ſame number of florins a week for their pay, lived at free quarters in the houſes of the inhabitants, and knowing the governor's deſign in placing them there, indulged themſelves in every ſpecies of outrage. He ſummoned the magiſtrates of the city, and the States of the province, to appear before the council of tumults, to anſwer for their conduct in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-ſix, when they ceded to the proteſtants one of the churches of the city for their religious aſſemblies. It did not avail them to allege in their defence, that only a few individuals were concerned in this deed; that theſe few had acted with the beſt intention towards the king and the catholic religion, and had made that conceſſion, of which the whole city was now accuſed, in order to prevent the moſt unhappy conſequences, which would otherwiſe have ariſen from the intemperate zeal of the reformers. Theſe defences made no impreſſion on the duke, or on the council. And ſentence was paſſed with very little heſitation, at the ſame time againſt the eccleſiaſtics, the nobles, and the ſeveral cities of the province. The eccleſiaſtics were deprived of their right of voting in the aſſembly of the States; the nobles were ſtript of all their honours and immunities; the cities of Utrecht, Amersfort, Wyck, and Rhenen, were declared to have forfeited their privileges; and, as Utrecht was ſuppoſed to have been more particularly guilty, it was enacted,

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acted, that all the territory and revenues belonging to the city and corporations ſhould be confiſcated.

THE States were ſo far intimidated by this iniquitous ſentence, and their patience ſo much exhauſted by the oppreſſive rapacity of the ſoldiers, that they were induced to raiſe the offer which they had made of one hundred thouſand florins, to one hundred and eighty thouſand. But neither what they had already ſuffered, nor what they dreaded from the governor's reſentment, could induce them to yield their conſent to the taxes of the tenth and twentieth penny.

THIS reſolute conduct of the people of Utrecht was attended with the moſt important conſequences. It annulled the obligation under which the other States had come, when they conſented to the taxes, on condition that all the provinces ſhould concur; and it confirmed the people in their reſolution ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe the levying of the taxes.

THE governor was aware how difficult it would have been, in their preſent temper, to carry his plan into immediate execution; and although it does not appear that he ever entertained the remoteſt thoughts of dropping it, yet, as his occaſions for money were extremely preſſing, he called an aſſembly of the States to Bruſſels, and demanded, that, beſides the hundredth penny, to which they had formerly conſented [1], they ſhould, in place of the other taxes, pay two millions of guilders yearly, for ſix years. The States endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the exorbitancy of this demand, but in vain. He gave them a month to conſider of it; and at laſt, from their dread of his tyranny, they agreed to his requeſt.

[1] This amounted to 4,000,000 guilders.

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Conduct of the prince of Orange.

THE prince of Orange was not an unconcerned ſpectator of theſe tranſactions. He had gone, as was mentioned before, at the end of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, to join the proteſtants in France. He was preſent, and had a conſiderable ſhare in the ſeveral actions which paſſed between the calviniſts and catholics, at la Charité, Roch-la-ville, and Poictiers. But being too deeply intereſted in the affairs of the Netherlands to remain long at ſo great a diſtance from them, he had left his brother count Lewis to command the German forces in France; and having returned in September one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-nine, to his county of Naſſau in Germany, he had been employed for ſome time in making preparations for trying his fortune once more againſt the Spaniards.

IN Germany he received particular intelligence of every thing that had happened in the Low-Countries ſince his departure. He was informed how much the duke of Alva had increaſed the hatred which the people entertained againſt his perſon and government. He received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their diſpoſition to revolt; and was ſolicited by the catholics, as well as proteſtants, by thoſe who ſtill remained in the country, as well as thoſe who had been forced to leave it, to take up arms in their defence. But he had not forgotten the cauſe of the failure of his firſt attempt; and he reſolved not to begin any military operations, nor even to levy forces, till he ſhould be better provided than formerly with the means of their ſupport.

The exiles at ſea acknowledge his authority.

SOON after Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, many of thoſe who had left the country on account of the perſecutions, had united together, and fitted out a great number of armed veſſels, with which they ſeized all the Spaniſh ſhips which they could meet

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meet with on the Flemiſh or Engliſh coaſt. Theſe adventurers had lately, through the violence of Alva's adminiſtration, received a great increaſe of number; and had been joined by many perſons of rank, who had acquired an aſcendant over them. They were all ſtrongly attached to the prince of Orange, from whoſe wiſdom alone they had any hopes of being reſtored to their native country; and they deſired nothing ſo much as that he would undertake the direction of their affairs. They agreed therefore, as ſoon as it was propoſed by their leaders, to receive commiſſions from him, and to pay a fifth part of the value of all their prizes to certain officers, to be appointed by him to receive it.

As their fleet was greatly ſuperior to any which the duke of Alva poſſeſſed, they did incredible miſchief to the Spaniſh, and ſometimes too to the Flemiſh merchants; and if their prizes had been ſold to advantage, the proportion which they allowed to the prince of Orange would have amounted to a conſiderable ſum.

Intrigues of the prince of Orange.

WILLIAM had recourſe, at the ſame time, to another method of improving his finances. He empowered ſome of the inferior nobility to grant commiſſions in his name, to the proteſtant preachers, who went throughout the provinces in diſguiſe, and procured contributions from all thoſe who were diſaffected either to the catholic religion or the Spaniſh government. Theſe men not only knew better to whom it was proper to apply, but, by their piety and eloquence, they had greater influence over the people, than any other perſons whom the prince could have employed. By their means too, he acquired a thorough knowledge of the diſpoſition of the people, and formed a correſpondence with many of the principal inhabitants, which contributed not a little to advance his views. Theſe tranſactions were carried on chiefly

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in Holland and Zealand, where the reformed religion had made greater progreſs than in the ſouthern provinces; and where, from the nature and ſituation of the country, interſected by navigable rivers, canals, and branches of the ſea, the people dreaded leſs, and were in reality leſs expoſed to, the power of the Spaniards. It was in theſe provinces, formed both by nature and art to be the ſeat of liberty, that the prince of Orange had wiſely reſolved to make his firſt attempt to gain a footing in the Netherlands. And, accordingly, intrigues were formed, and plans concerted, between his agents and ſome of the principal inhabitants, for delivering the maritime towns into the hands of the proteſtant exiles. Attempts were made to get poſſeſſion of Enchuyſen, and other cities in North Holland; but from different cauſes they proved abortive at this time, and were laid aſide till fortune ſhould be more propitious. The perſons concerned in them had little reaſon, it may be thought, to flatter themſelves with the hopes of ſecrecy; yet ſo univerſally odious was the Spaniſh government become, to the catholics as well as the reformers, that none, even of thoſe by whoſe means the plots of the Orange party were defeated, could reſolve to give information of them to the governor. They were averſe from gratifying a man whom they had ſo much reaſon to deteſt; and abhorred the thoughts of that cruelty, which they knew would, in caſe of a diſcovery, be exerciſed againſt the guilty.

Surpriſe of the fort of Louveſtein.

THE duke of Alva, therefore, remained entirely ignorant of all that paſſed; nor does it appear that he entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of the machinations of his enemies, till the taking of the fort of Louveſtein. This fort ſtands in the iſland called Bommel, which is formed by the Maeſe and the Waal; and, though weakly fortified, was of great importance on account of its ſituation.

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It was taken by ſurpriſe at this time, by Herman de Ryter, a native of Bois-le-Duc, who wiſhed to ſignalize himſelf by ſome gallant exploit in the ſervice of the prince of Orange. He had carried with him no more than fifty men, and with this ſmall number he hoped to be able to defend the fort till his aſſociates ſhould arrive, but unfortunately they were prevented from advancing by ſome unforeſeen accident; and in the mean time the fort was inveſted by a ſuperior force, which had been ſent from Bois-le-Duc, by Roderigo de Toledo. The beſieged defended themſelves long with the moſt obſtinate valour; but they were at laſt overpowered by numbers, and De Ryter himſelf was ſlain [k].

Indignation of the duke of Alva.

THE duke of Alva was greatly alarmed by this event. He conſidered the cauſe more than the effect, and apprehended that this firſt enterprize of his enemies, which had been ſo eaſily fruſtrated, would ere long be followed by other attempts in different parts of the provinces. It excited in his fiery temper a degree of rage and indignation equal to his anxiety. And his reſentment was inflamed by the oppoſition which the people had made to his raiſing the tax of the hundredth penny; eſpecially in the maritime provinces, where he had never been able either to levy that tax, or their proportion of the two millions of guilders, which the General States had conſented to pay him yearly. This oppoſition might have opened his eyes, and ſhewn him the neceſſity of embracing milder expedients than he had hitherto employed; but inſtead of this, it ſerved only to fix him in his firſt purpoſe of having recourſe to open force and violence. And he was reſolved, whatever ſhould be the conſequences, to compel the

[k] Meteren, p. 86. Bentivoglio, p. 87.

people

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people to ſubmit, not only to the tax of the hundredth penny, to which the States had given their conſent, but likewiſe to that of the tenth and twentieth, to which they had refuſed it[1]. To give a colour to his conduct, he aſſerted in the council, that the States had conſented to the two latter taxes as well as the former. Viglius, and ſome others of the counſellors, reminded him, that the conſent obtained had been granted upon a condition which did not yet ſubſiſt. But Alva was not in a temper of mind, at this time, in which he could either liſten to the truth, or bear with contradiction. They were no better than rebels, he ſaid, who durſt affirm, that the States had not conſented. The king's honour, as well as his intereſt, required, that the taxes ſhould be levied without delay; and he would ſuffer himſelf to be cut in pieces, rather than allow the States to break the promiſe which they had given him.

His edict requiring payment of the taxes.

He accordingly iſſued an edict, requiring all the inhabitants of the Low-Countries to make immediate payment of the tenth and twentieth, as well as of the hundredth penny, to the officers appointed to receive them. But, as he had promiſed to moderate the two former taxes in ſuch a manner as to prevent the pernicious conſequences that were apprehended, an immunity from the tenth penny was granted to foreign merchants, on the firſt ſale of goods imported; and they were permitted to export them again, without paying this tax, provided the goods had not been transferred from one perſon to another during their continuance in the country. The ſame immunity was likewiſe granted on the firſt ſale of cattle, corn, and fruits, the produce of the Netherlands.

[1] Bentivoglio, p. 87.

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THESE immunities, which the governor conſidered as proofs on his part of the greateſt condeſcenſion, had no effect towards reconciling the people to the taxes, which they believed would, notwithſtanding theſe conceſſions, be attended with the ruin of their commerce and manufactures. Their averſion to them, and their reſolution to oppoſe the levying of them, were as ſtrong as ever. In many towns the people began, almoſt as ſoon as the edict was publiſhed, to feel a ſcarcity of the common neceſſaries of life. Proviſions were not brought to market; nor did the merchants expoſe their goods to ſale as formerly[n]. Theſe inconveniences were felt in no place more than in Bruſſels, where the governor reſided. There was an entire ſtagnation in that city of every ſpecies of commercial intercourſe. Neither food nor drink could be purchaſed in it. The ſhops and workhouſes were ſhut up. The lower ſort of people were reduced to deſpair; and the whole city was overwhelmed with grief and conſternation.

The conſequences of this meaſure.

IN this ſituation, Alva formed the barbarous reſolution of putting to death, before their own houſes, ſeventeen of the principal inhabitants. His ſoldiers were under arms; the gibbets, the ropes, and the executioners, were prepared; when happily, only a few hours before the time fixed for the execution, a meſſenger arrived with information that the exiles had made a deſcent on the iſland of Vorn, and got poſſeſſion of the Brille.

His barbarity.

The Brille taken by the Exiles.

ALVA, thunderſtruck with this intelligence, recalled his bloody orders; and reſolved, though with much reluctance, to ſuſpend for a time the levying of the taxes. He was deeply ſenſible of the advantages which the exiles might derive from their acquiſition of a place, which, on account of its ſituation at the mouth

[n] Bentivoglio, p. 87.

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of a great river, and in the neighbourhood of many important cities, had always been conſidered as one of the chief keys of the Netherlands. He knew likewiſe how extremely diſaffected the people in the maritime provinces were to his perſon and government; and he dreaded that other places would follow the example of the Brille, and open their gates to the enemy.

He had the greater reaſon to be uneaſy at this event, as he had not exerted himſelf with proper vigour to prevent it. He had neglected to form a naval force ſufficient to contend with the exiles; and had thereby not only ſuffered the trade of the Netherlands to be ruined, but had left his government almoſt defenceleſs on that ſide, where, from the nature of the power which the proteſtant exiles poſſeſſed, it was in the greateſt danger of being attacked. He had not even put garriſons into the cities that were moſt expoſed; but, at the very time when the exiles were hovering on the coaſt, kept a numerous body of troops quartered in Utrecht; which, if they had been diſtributed among the ſea-coaſt towns, might have baffled all the attempts of the enemy. Of this ſupine negligence, in a perſon of ſo great vigour and abilities as Alva, no account can be given, but the extreme contempt in which he held the proteſtant exiles; whom he conſidered as fit only to exerciſe piracy upon merchant ſhips, but utterly incapable of conducting any important enterpriſe.

But although he had not taken the neceſſary precaution to ſecure himſelf againſt their attempts, he had not been altogether inattentive to their motions. He had complained to the queen of England, of her permitting them to ſell openly in her dominions, the goods of which they had robbed the ſubjects of the king his maſter.

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maſter. This was in effect giving aſſiſtance, he ſaid, to the king's rebellious ſubjects, and was a violation of the treaties which ſubſiſted between the Spaniſh and Engliſh crowns. Elizabeth was ſecretly a friend to the Flemiſh exiles; and ſhe had little reaſon, and as little inclination, to gratify the deſires of Philip, or the duke of Alva. She knew that, for ſome time paſt, they had maintained a correſpondence with her catholic ſubjects, and had uſed their endeavours to diſturb her government. But ſhe did not judge it proper at this time to come to an open rupture with Philip. She therefore complied with Alva's requeſt; ordered all ſhips belonging to ſuch of the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, as had withdrawn their allegiance from the king of Spain, to leave her harbours; and forbade her ſubjects to furniſh them with ſhelter or proviſions.

THIS unlooked-for complaiſance of Elizabeth, which was matter of great triumph to the duke of Alva, and of equal mortification to the exiles, was attended, in the iſſue, with conſequences very different from thoſe which were expected. It reduced the exiles to deſpair; and as they were now thrown off by the only foreign power from which they had received protection, they reſolved, if poſſible, to acquire poſſeſſion of ſome place of ſtrength in their native country. Having with this view aſſembled at Dover, they ſet ſail with twenty-five ſhips, under William de Lumey count de la Marck, who held the chief command among them, by commiſſion from the prince of Orange. In their voyage they had the good fortune to meet with two Spaniſh veſſels richly laden, which was no ſmall conſolation to them in their preſent forlorn ſituation. They intended to have made an attempt upon Enchuyſen, in North Holland; but the wind being con-

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trary, they were obliged to put into the Maeſe, where they caſt anchor before the town of Brille, on the firſt of April one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-two. The count De la Marck immediately landed his troops, and ſent a meſſenger to ſummon the inhabitants, in the name of the prince of Orange, to ſurrender. But as they heſitated for ſome time what anſwer they ſhould return, he began to ſuſpect that they were preparing to make reſiſtance, and therefore ordered the gate on the north ſide to be burnt down. This was done accordingly; and he entered, and took poſſeſſion of the town without oppoſition, at the head of only two hundred and fifty men.

So accidental and ſo eaſily accompliſhed was the firſt event of that war, which rendered the Netherlands a ſcene of horror and devaſtation for more than thirty years; but which, whilſt it proved the ſource, on many occaſions, of extreme diſtreſs to the people, called forth an exertion of virtue, ſpirit, and intrepidity, which ſeldom occurs in the annals of hiſtory. Never was there a more unequal conteſt than this which was now begun between the inhabitants of the Low-Countries and the Spaniſh monarch; and never was the iſſue of any diſpute more contrary to what the parties had reaſon to expect. On the one ſide, a people, conſiſting chiefly of manufacturers and merchants, inhabiting a country of ſmall extent, and already much exhauſted by a long continued exerciſe of tyranny and oppreſſion: on the other, the richeſt monarch of the age, who was maſter of the moſt numerous and beſt diſciplined forces, commanded by generals diſtinguiſhed above their cotemporaries by their conſummate ſkill in the art of war. Nothing but deſpair could have made the people of the Low-Countries enter the liſts with an adverſary ſo much ſuperior to them. And it could hardly be ſuppoſed that they would not

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be quickly overwhelmed. But, from the ſequel it will appear, how raſh it is to conclude with confidence, that becauſe an event is improbable, therefore it will not happen.

ON the next day, after the proteſtants had made themſelves maſters of the Brille, they began to convey their booty on board their ſhips, with the deſign of proceeding on their voyage to Weſt Frieſland; but one of their number, a native of the place [o], having repreſented that they could not reaſonably expect to find a more commodious ſettlement elſewhere, the count de la Marck, and all the reſt entered readily into this opinion; and they reſolved without delay to fortify the town with the cannon belonging to the fleet.

Fruitleſs attempt to recover the Brille.

THEY had juſt time to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, when the count de Boſſut [p], to whom the duke of Alva had given orders to attack them, arrived in the iſland with a body of Spaniſh troops, collected from Utrecht and other places in the neighbourhood. The count de la Marck, whoſe forces were much inferior in number to the enemy, remained within the town, with a reſolution to defend it to the laſt. The Spaniards advanced to the walls, and began to batter them with their artillery; when one of the townſmen leapt into a canal, and ſwimming a little way till he came to a ſluice, which Boſſut had neglected to ſecure, he broke it down, and let in ſuch a quantity of water, that, in a few hours, a great part of the country was overflowed. This did not deter Boſſut from the proſecution of his enterpriſe; although it obliged him to remove his forces to the ſouth ſide of the town, where the ground which led to the principal gate was

[o] Treſlong. [p] Governor of Holland.

ſtill

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ſtill uncovered by the water. La Marck had planted there his heavieſt cannon; and the Spaniards had little proſpect of being able to carry their point ſoon. In the mean time, two of the boldeſt leaders of the exiles ſallied out with a part of the ſoldiers from the oppoſite gate, and marching along the dykes to the place where Boſſut had left his ſhips, they burnt ſome of them, ſunk others, ſet the reſt adrift, and then returned ſafe to the city. When the Spaniards were advertiſed of this diſaſter, and perceived the water round them riſing higher and higher, they were ſtruck with a ſudden panic, and betook themſelves with the utmoſt precipitation to the ſhore. Moſt of them made their eſcape to the oppoſite coaſt in ſome veſſels, which the enemy had not time either to let looſe or to deſtroy; and others, by ſwimming till they reached the ſhips that had been ſet adrift; while a conſiderable number was ſwallowed up in the mud and water. Had they been purſued by the enemy, they muſt all have periſhed. But La Marck, who was doubtful of the affections of the citizens, thought it dangerous to quit the town, leſt they ſhould ſhut the gates, and turn his own artillery againſt him.

FROM this ſucceſs, the proteſtants derived an increaſe both of ſtrength and courage. The citizens declared openly in their favour, and they were immediately joined by numbers who flocked to them from all parts of the iſland. The names of the inhabitants were regiſtered; and they all ſwore allegiance to the prince of Orange, as the only legal governor of Holland; engaging to defend the town and iſland in *his* name, and that of the king, againſt the duke of Alva and the Spaniards [q].

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[q] This firſt victory of the proteſtants was ſullied by that ſavage ferocity, of which there are many inſtances in the preſent war. The Monks knowing how obnoxious they were to the conquerors,

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THEIR example quickly diffuſed the ſpirit by which they were actuated, and ſerved as a ſignal of revolt to other places. Of this the count De Boſſut ſoon received a convincing proof. Having with great difficulty paſſed over from Vorn to Beyerland, he led his troops towards Dort, where he intended to refreſh them after the fatigue which they had undergone. But the inhabitants having heard of his repulſe at Brille, and dreading, that he might compel them to pay the taxes, they reſolved, whatever ſhould be the conſequence, to refuſe him admittance into the city. As he was not in a condition to employ force, he marched directly to Rotterdam.

Boſſut's maſſacre of the people of Rotterdam.

THERE too he found the people equally averſe to the admiſſion of the Spaniards; but after aſſuring the magiſtrates that he meant only to lead them through the town, and not to lodge them in it, he perſuaded them to ſuffer the ſeveral companies to paſs through it, one by one. The magiſtrates had reaſon quickly to repent of this conceſſion. No ſooner had the firſt company entered the city, than Boſſut, without regard to his engagement, ordered them to keep the gates open, till the other companies ſhould arrive. The citizens reproached him with his treachery, and attempted to ſhut the gates by force. He had hitherto been held in eſteem for his moderation; but, being chagrined on this occaſion, by the miſcarriage of his attempt againſt the proteſtants in Brille, and incenſed by the affront which had been offered him, firſt by the people of Dort, and ſince by thoſe of Rotterdam, he

conquerors, endeavoured to make their eſcape from the iſland; but they were ſeized in their flight, treated in the moſt cruel and contumelious manner, and afterwards put to death. The exiles were too much inflamed by the barbarous treatment which they themſelves had received, to diſtinguiſh between the innocent and the guilty, or to liſten either to the dictates of humanity, or of that religion for which they profeſſed ſuch ardent zeal. Having been treated as wild beaſts by their enemies, they had now become ſuch, and tore in pieces every thing that fell in their way.

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reſolved to wreck his vengeance upon the latter, and ſhewed his ſoldiers what he wiſhed them to do, by killing with his own hand one of the citizens, who was endeavouring to ſhut the gate. His troops, eager to follow this example, drew their ſwords, attacked the city-guards, ſlew ſome of them, and drove the reſt out of the city; then giving a looſe to their fury, they ſpread themſelves over the town, and butchered more than three hundred of the inhabitants [r].

THIS ſhocking deed was no leſs impolitic, than it was ſavage and barbarous; and added fuel to that flame which Boſſut, as governor of the province, ought to have been at the utmoſt pains to extinguiſh. It required but little diſcernment to perceive the neceſſity of employing the mildeſt expedients with the maritime provinces. There were no citadels or Spaniſh garriſons in the towns of theſe provinces. The ſoldiers who had been quartered in them, had been drawn off at different times, for the puniſhment of the people of Utrecht. The ſituation of moſt of the towns, ſurrounded by the ſea, or by the rivers and canals, rendered it extremely difficult to beſiege them; and the proteſtants, who could have eaſy acceſs by water to every part of the country, were greatly ſuperior to the Spaniards in naval force. The people were not ignorant of theſe advantages; and they reſolved to avail themſelves of them on the preſent occaſion. The maſſacre at Rotterdam made them regard Boſſut and the Spaniards with horror; and even thoſe who wiſhed to maintain their allegiance to the king of Spain, were determined to guard againſt the entrance of his troops within their walls, with the ſame vigilance which they would have employed againſt an open foe.

[r] Meurſii Auriacus, p. 75. Bentivoglio, p. 91.

THIS

1572. Revolt of Flushing.

THIS spirit appeared first at Flushing; which, on account of its situation near the mouth of the Scheld, has long been reckoned one of the most important towns in the Netherlands. Among the last instructions which the emperor delivered to his son, when he resigned his dominions, he advised him to make this place an object of his particular care, and to spare no expence to secure it against the attempts of his enemies. Alva had not bestowed that attention on it, which a place of so much consequence deserved. He had weakened the garrison, by ordering all of them but eighty Walloon soldiers, to take up their quarters in Utrecht. The loss of the Brille, which was owing to the same cause, had made him sensible of his error. He now therefore resolved to finish a citadel at Flushing, of which he had laid the foundation some time before; and with this view he ordered eight companies of Spaniards to go there, under the command of an experienced officer. The citizens beheld the chains which were thus forging for them, with deep concern. They dreaded the consequences which might arise to their trade. They were not entirely free from apprehensions of being treated in the same manner as the people of Utrecht and Rotterdam. They doubted not that, sooner or later, the garrison, which was about to be stationed in the town, would be employed to compel them to make payment of the taxes; and they were emboldened by the success of the protestants in the isle of Vorn. While their minds were in this agitation, there arrived among them some partisans of the prince of Orange, who had come on purpose to exhort them to assert their liberty. Instigated by these men, the populace ran to arms, and obliged the feeble remains of the garrison to quit the city.

ON the next day, the Spanish forces arrived in the harbour. The people were assembled in the streets, and upon the walls; and

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were ſtill in ſome meaſure unreſolved as to their future conduct. The proteſtants, and other friends of the prince of Orange, remonſtrated to them on the abſurdity of heſitating, after they had begun hoſtilities. "By expelling the garriſon," cried one of them, "you have already done what the Spaniards will undoubtedly interpret to be high treaſon againſt their king. Conſider well to whoſe mercy you expoſe yourſelves. Remember the fate of the counts Horn and Egmont, and conſider whether either your merit or your innocence has equalled theirs." The proteſtants employed another method to impreſs the minds of the vulgar. They cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet, that the Spaniſh garriſon was at hand, and that all the citizens muſt hold their effects, their wives and daughters, in readineſs for their uſe[s].

When men are balancing between contrary reſolutions, the ſmalleſt weight is ſufficient ſometimes to turn the ſcale. A man in liquor, who had mingled with the crowd, offered for a ſmall reward to fire one of the great guns upon the Spaniards; and he did it accordingly, on receiving three guilders from one of the proteſtants who ſtood near him. From that inſtant, the people were fixed in their purpoſe. The Spaniards, aſtoniſhed at their reception, and utterly unprepared to employ force, let ſlip their cables, and ſailed for Middleburg.

In that city reſided Anthony de Burgoine, lord of Wackenè, the governor of the province; who, as ſoon as he was informed of what had happened, ſet out for Fluſhing, and on his arrival there, having called together all the inhabitants into the moſt public part of the town, he employed every argument addreſſed to their hopes and fears, to perſuade them to return to their allegiance.

[s] Reidanus, p. 10.

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giance. But they could not liſten now to any thing but the paſſions by which they were inflamed. Their abhorrence of the Spaniſh tyranny was now wrought up to the greateſt height; and the governor, apprehenſive of danger from their unbridled fury, immediately left the town.

Soon after his departure they pulled up the foundations of the new citadel, and drove out the perſons to whom the charge of building it had been committed. In a few days afterwards they gave a ſtill ſtronger proof of their reſolution never to return under the Spaniſh government. Don Pedro Pacheco, who had been appointed governor of Fluſhing, having been detained ſome days behind the troops, was ignorant of what had paſſed, and entered the harbour under a belief that his ſoldiers were in the town to receive him. The people ran to arms, and having ſeized and plundered his ſhip, they caſt him and his attendants into priſon. Among papers which were found in his poſſeſſion, it is ſaid, that they met with evidence of his having come with a deſign to exerciſe in Fluſhing the wonted tyranny of the Spaniards; and this diſcovery, added to the circumſtance of his being nearly related to the duke of Alva, prompted them to form the barbarous reſolution of putting them to death. He offered to pay them a rich ranſom for his life, and to remain their priſoner; but they rejected his propoſal. He then begged that they would reſpect the nobility of his birth, and put him to death by the ſword, rather than by the halter. Even this requeſt was denied him. Their minds were grown ſavage, from the bloody ſcenes which had of late been ſo often acted before them; and they rejoiced in the opportunity which they poſſeſſed of wrecking their vengeance on the duke of Alva, by inflicting a diſgraceful puniſhment on his kinſman.

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THEY were aware of the conſequences with which this conduct, ſo violent and hoſtile, muſt be attended; and, as they knew that it would quickly draw upon them the whole weight of the governor's reſentment, they omitted nothing in their power to ſecure themſelves againſt it. They laboured inceſſantly to ſtrengthen their fortifications. They imported privately from Antwerp, ammunition and proviſions, which they laid up in ſtore; and they applied to the prince of Orange, and to the proteſtants in France and England, for aſſiſtance. Some troops were immediately ſent them from France, by count Lewis of Naſſau; and five hundred Flemiſh exiles came from England, who were ſoon afterwards followed by two hundred Scotch and Engliſh volunteers, under the command of two adventurers, Morgan and Balfour. Their fleet received an augmentation where they did not expect it. The duke of Alva having, ſome months before, fitted out a number of veſſels to cruiſe upon the coaſt, the commanders of theſe veſſels now declared in favour of the party which they had hitherto oppoſed; and, ſetting ſail from Fluſhing, inliſted under the banners of the count de Tſerart, to whom the prince of Orange had given the chief command of all the forces in the province.

Revolt of other towns in Zealand.

TSERART ſoon found himſelf poſſeſſed of ſufficient ſtrength, not only to defend Fluſhing, but likewiſe to attempt the reduction of the other towns in Zealand. With moſt of theſe towns, there was very little occaſion for employing force. The inhabitants of Campvere, Armuyden, and ſome other places, were no leſs inclined to revolt than the people of Fluſhing; and in a few days the whole province, except Middleburgh and the caſtle of Rammekins, declared againſt the Spaniſh government, and received garriſons from Tſerart.

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The ſiege of Middleburg.

In Middleburg too, the greateſt part of the inhabitants would gladly have followed the example of the other towns; but they were over-awed by the garriſon. Tſerart laid ſiege to this city, and expected ſoon to have got poſſeſſion of it. The garriſon was weak, and as the exiles were maſters at ſea, he hoped, by their means, to intercept any reinforcement which might be ſent from the continent. The duke of Alva was ſenſible of the great importance of the place, and reſolved, if poſſible, to relieve it. For this purpoſe, he ordered Sancio D'Avila, one of his braveſt officers, to carry thither a thouſand ſelect ſoldiers, partly Walloons and partly Spaniards, whom he mingled together, as he did on many occaſions afterwards, that he might the more effectually excite their emulation; and to theſe a great number of officers and perſons of rank joined as volunteers, that they might partake of the glory of ſo dangerous an enterpriſe.

D'Avila left Bergen-op-zoom in the end of April, and had a proſperous navigation down the Scheld. He was deſirous to land his troops on the neareſt part of the iſland, as from thence he would have had the ſhorteſt march to Middleburg. But the enemy having received intelligence of his deſign, had drawn together a powerful fleet to oppoſe him. He was obliged therefore to keep out to ſea on the north ſide of the iſland, and to fetch a compaſs round, till he came to that part of it which is waſhed by the ocean. The landing there was difficult by reaſon of the flats and ſhallows, which made it neceſſary for him to march a great way in the water; but, as he met with no oppoſition from the enemy, he at laſt brought his men all ſafe on ſhore. Then having immediately ſet out with a choſen band, to examine the ſituation of the enemy, and having found that, truſting to the fleet, they had taken no precaution for their defence, he ordered

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all his forces to advance. They ran forward to the attack with the utmoſt impetuoſity. The beſiegers were overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment. The garriſon at the ſame time ſallied out upon them from the city. They abandoned their trenches almoſt without reſiſtance; and being hemmed in on every ſide, all of them, except a few, who eſcaped to Fluſhing and Campvere, were put to the ſword [t].

Raiſed by D'Avila.

In this manner was the ſiege of Middleburg raiſed. But as the proteſtants ſtill retained their ſuperiority at ſea, they hoped, that by ſurrounding the iſland with their ſhips, and intercepting the ſupplies which might be ſent to it, they ſhould ſoon be able to compel the garriſon to ſurrender. Their fleet conſiſted of no leſs than one hundred and fifty armed veſſels, manned with ſailors who were much more expert than any whom the duke of Alva could procure. Their maritime enterpriſes were for this reaſon almoſt always attended with ſucceſs, and they did incredible miſchief to the Spaniards at ſea; while at land, having only raw troops to oppoſe to regular and well-diſciplined forces, they were ſeldom able to look them in the face.

Succeſs of the Exiles at ſea. July 10th.

At this time, when the ſea was covered with their ſhips, and almoſt every entrance to the ports of the Low-Countries blocked up, the duke of Medina-cœli arrived upon the coaſt. This nobleman had been ſent by Philip to ſucceed the duke of Alva, who, on account of his health, had applied for liberty to return to Spain. Medina-cœli had brought with him fifty ſhips, having two thouſand Spaniſh ſoldiers on board; but as he knew nothing of the late tranſactions in the maritime provinces, and had no ſuſpicion that the proteſtants poſſeſſed ſuch a conſiderable naval

[t] Bentivoglio, p. 93.

force,

force, he fell unawares into the midſt of their fleet. Twenty-five of the largeſt of his ſhips were taken. Some of them eſcaped to Rammekins and Middleburg, and he himſelf got with difficulty into Sluys, in Flanders. The exiles found on board the ſhips which they took, two hundred thouſand guilders in ſpecie; and the ſhips, with the effects which they contained, were valued at five hundred thouſand. 1572.

THEIR next ſucceſs was in an attack upon a fleet of twenty ſhips, which the duke of Alva intended to ſend to Middleburg, with troops, ordnance, pikes, and gunpowder, for the uſe of the garriſon. The exiles attacked theſe ſhips before they had left the harbour, and having taken them all, they carried them, together with the military ſtores, to Fluſhing.

ANOTHER fleet, fitted out for the ſame purpoſe at Sluys, was equally unfortunate. The Zealanders being informed by their partiſans of the deſtination of this fleet, and of the time fixed for its departure, took three ſhips, in the ſhort run betwixt Sluys and the iſle of Walchern, and had the courage to purſue the reſt into the harbour of Rammekins, where, notwithſtanding the fire of the garriſon, they took ſome, and burnt the reſt.

THEY were not ſo ſucceſsful in their next adventure. It had been the chief object of their deſire for ſome time, to make themſelves maſters of Middleburg; becauſe, while that city remained in the hands of the Spaniards, the whole iſland was ſubject to perpetual alarms. They had, as we have juſt now ſeen, defeated ſeveral attempts which the duke of Alva made to introduce ſupplies, and now the town of Tergoes was the only channel by

[u] Meurſii Auriacus, p. 88.

which

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which they could be conveyed. Tergoes is the capital of South Beveland, and was defended at this time by a garriſon of eight hundred Walloons and Spaniards, under the command of Iſidore Pacheco, a Spaniſh officer.

Siege of Tergoes

To this town Tſerart, general of the Zealanders, had, ſome time after his repulſe from Middleburg, laid ſiege; but upon a falſe report of the approach of the Spaniards, he had haſtily raiſed the ſiege, and left the iſland.

towards the end of Summer.

He now returned to it, with an army of near eight thouſand men, moſt of whom were German, French, and Engliſh proteſtants.

As the garriſon was no match in the field for ſo great a force, Tſerart had landed in the iſland without oppoſition, and, having immediately inveſted the town, he preſſed forward the ſiege with great vigour. The beſieged made ſeveral briſk ſallies to retard his approach; but notwithſtanding their moſt vigorous efforts, Tſerart had opened his batteries, and made ſome breaches in the wall. The ſiege had laſted for ſeveral weeks, and Pacheco began to perceive that it would not be poſſible for him to hold out much longer.

Of this he had given early notice to the duke of Alva; nor was the duke leſs intent upon relieving him, than he had reaſon to expect. The diſtinguiſhed bravery of the garriſon and their commander; the reproach which would accompany the ſuffering them to fall a prey to the enemy; above all, the great importance of the place, the loſs of which would draw after it that of Middleburg, and the whole province of Zealand; theſe conſiderations excited all the governor's attention, and determined him to apply with ardour to prepare the ſuccour which Pacheco had ſolicited. He ordered ſeveral regiments of his beſt troops to aſſemble

aſſemble from different quarters at Bergen-op-zoom, from whence there is a ſhort run down the Scheld to Beveland. He likewiſe ſent thither a ſufficient number of tranſports with ſtores of ammunition and proviſions; and appointed D'Avila and Mondragone* to conduct them to the garriſon of Tergoes.

THESE men exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly in the execution of the truſt that was committed to them; and attempted ſeveral times to force their way through the enemy's fleet. But the Zealanders watched their motions ſo attentively, were ſo much more expert in ſailing, and poſſeſſed a naval force ſo much ſuperior to theirs, that all their attempts were baffled; and, to ſave their ſhips from being ſunk, they were frequently obliged to return, without being able to effectuate their purpoſe. D'Avila once flattered himſelf that he had diſcovered an expedient that would prove ſucceſsful. He planted batteries of cannon along the banks of the Scheld; hoping to keep the enemy at a diſtance from the ſhore, and thus to give Mondragone, with the troops, an opportunity of paſſing. But the event did not anſwer his expectation. The banks were wet, and did not allow of his coming near enough to annoy the enemy.

Plumart's propoſal for raiſing the ſiege.

THE Spaniſh general began to deſpair of being able to execute their deſign, when Plumart, a native of the province, but zealouſly attached to the Spaniſh intereſt, propoſed another method of tranſporting the forces, which at firſt appeared impracticable, although it was afterwards embraced. In order to form a clear conception of Plumart's propoſal, it is neceſſary to attend to the

* Two of his moſt experienced officers.

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ſituation of the country, and the change which ſome years before it had undergone. The iſle of South Beveland, to which the Spaniſh general found it ſo difficult to tranſport their troops, is only ſeven miles diſtant from a tract of land, to which they could have had eaſy acceſs from Bergen-op-zoom. This tract of land, which is divided from Brabant by the Eaſter Scheld, and from Flanders by the Hondt, or Weſter Scheld, was once a part of Beveland, and was ſeparated from it by a dreadful inundation in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-two; when the ſea broke down the dykes, and burſt violently acroſs the iſland, cutting off from it the corner which lay neareſt to Brabant, and covering it from north to ſouth, that is, from the Eaſter to the Weſter Scheld, with water, which the inhabitants were never able to exclude. The ſpace overflowed was, at the narroweſt, ſeven Italian miles broad. It could not be croſſed in boats even at high-water, by reaſon of the flats and ſhallows; and at low water it was thought unfordable, on account of the miry bottom, and the channels of ſeveral rivulets, which many perſons ſtill remembered to have ſeen in it, before it was overflowed.

It was there, however, that Plumart thought it practicable for the troops to paſs over on foot, to the relief of the garriſon of Tergoes; and he offered to lead the way, and conduct them in their paſſage. The character of the man, whoſe prudence and fidelity were well-known to the commanders, was the only circumſtance that prevented them from regarding his propoſal as chimerical. No perſon had ever attempted to paſs that way before. They themſelves were unacquainted with the face of the country before the inundation. They only knew the length of ſpace over which the troops muſt paſs; and no troops, they believed,

lieved, would be able to ſupport the fatigue of ſo long a march in water, and perhaps too in mud and clay. Beſides, that, by accidents which could not be foreſeen, they might be retarded in their paſſage, till they were overtaken by the riſing tide, and buried in the waves; and, even although this ſhould not happen, yet the enemy might be appriſed of their deſign, and be ready to fall upon them, as ſoon as they ſhould reach the land.

PLUMART was not diſcouraged by theſe objections. He deſired that no mention might be made of this propoſal, till he ſhould know with certainty whether there was not in reality ſuch a ford as he imagined. He then went to make the trial, accompanied by two Spaniards, and a peaſant who was well acquainted with the face of the country before the inundation. He found the ford which he ſought for; arrived ſafe on the other ſide, and returned, without encountering any greater difficulties than he expected.

D'AVILA and Mondragone did not heſitate after this to comply with his advice. They immediately prepared a number of ſmall bags, which they filled with biſcuit, gunpowder and matches; and tranſported three thouſand of the beſt troops, Germans, Walloons, and Spaniards, from Bergen-op-Zoom to Agger, a village which lies near the entrance of the ford. Mondragone took upon himſelf the conducting of this extraordinary expedition. When the time proper for entering upon it was arrived, he ordered the troops to advance towards the ford; and having diſtributed the bags among them, he then diſcloſed his intention; gave them an account of the diſcovery which had been made by Plumart and his companions; and repreſented the glory which they would acquire by performing, in the ſervice of the church and of the king,

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ſuch an exploit as had never been atchieved by any army in the world before. The ſoldiers, full of that intrepid ſpirit by which the Spaniſh troops were ſo highly diſtinguiſhed in the preſent war, and proud of being ſelected from their companions for ſo dangerous an enterpriſe, received this unexpected information with every ſymptom of joy, and called out to Mondragone to lead them forward without delay.

THAT they might have the more time for their paſſage, they began to enter the water when the ſea was going back. The Spaniards, with Plumart and Mondragone at their head, marched firſt, the Germans next, and laſt of all the Walloons. They were ordered to keep as cloſe as poſſible to each other, that they might the more eaſily ſuccour one another, if any of them ſhould fall into deeper water, or be intangled in the mud. They were not without apprehenſions of the tide returning upon them, and therefore they moved forward as faſt as the ſurrounding element and the ſlimy bottom would allow. Nine men only periſhed through fatigue, or their neglect of the order which had been given them to keep cloſe to their companions. All the reſt arrived ſafe at the dyke of Yerſicken, a village only four miles diſtant from Tergoes. There Mondragone ordered them to repoſe themſelves during the night, and reſolved to lead them, at break of day, to the relief of the beſieged.

BUT he had already done all that was neceſſary for this purpoſe, and had no occaſion to expoſe either himſelf or his men to further danger. When the beſiegers were informed of his arrival, they were filled with conſternation. Under that amazement into which they were thrown by ſo unexpected an event, they regarded the Spaniards as more than men. They did not take time to enquire

quire into their number; but having immediately raiſed the ſiege, they left their baggage and artillery behind them, and betook themſelves precipitately to the ſhore. Eight hundred were killed in their flight by the garriſon, and many more periſhed in the water, in attempting to get on board their ſhips. Mondragone then entered Tergoes; where he was received by the garriſon, with every demonſtration of gratitude for their deliverance; and, having remained there till he had given directions for ſtrengthening the fortifications of the place, he left a part of his troops with the governor, and returned with the reſt to Brabant, to join the duke of Alva[r].

[r] Bentivoglio, p. 110. Meurſii Auriacus, p. 89.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK XI.

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1572. The revolt of Holland.

WHILE the tranſactions that have been related paſſed in Zealand, the ſame ſpirit of revolt, by which the people of that province were actuated, made rapid progreſs in ſome of the other provinces. The inhabitants of Enchuyſen were the firſt in North Holland who had the courage to plant the ſtandard of liberty upon their walls; and thoſe of Medinblinc, Edam, Purmerend, and other towns, quickly followed the example. In ſome of theſe places, part of the people were averſe to this revolution; but theſe were few, compared with their opponents, and were obliged either to yield to the majority, or to ſecure themſelves by flight from their reſentment.

THE ſame meaſures were purſued, at the ſame time, in the ſouthern parts of the province. That flame which had been kindled ſome time before, burſt out at once in a thouſand different places.

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places. And in a few months, Leyden, Gouda, Dort, Haerlem, and all the other towns in Holland, Amſterdam excepted, had openly declared againſt the Spaniards, and avowed their reſolution to acknowledge no other authority in future, but that of the prince of Orange, and the States. The ſame reſolution was formed in ſeveral of the cities of Overyſſel, Frieſland, and Utrecht.

THIS revolution, ſo favourable to William's views, was not a little promoted by intrigues, which, although he himſelf was abſent, were carried on his name, and by his authority. In letters to the principal inhabitants he had allured them to his intereſt, by flattering them with the hopes of having all their privileges ſecured; of enjoying full freedom to exerciſe their religion, whether proteſtant or catholic; and of being for ever delivered from that oppreſſive load of taxes with which they had been overwhelmed. In order to enforce theſe exhortations, he ſent his agents throughout the provinces; and moſt of theſe were perſons either of great addreſs, or of great authority and influence among the people*.

His military preparations.

WILLIAM's military preparations were at this time far advanced, and he hoped ſoon to begin his march, with the probability of a more proſperous iſſue than had attended his former expedition. He had already collected a formidable army of well-diſciplined forces. Conſiderable ſums had been tranſmitted to him by the friends of his cauſe; and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances had

* In Holland, the revolution was chiefly owing to the activity of Sonoy, whom the prince had ſent thither as governor-ſubſtitute, till he himſelf ſhould arrive: and in Guelderland, Utrecht, and Frieſland, to the count of Berg, a nobleman of intereſt in thoſe parts, who was married to William's ſiſter, and acted in every thing by his direction.

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been given him, that ſome of the principal cities in the ſouthern provinces would open their gates to receive him. But no circumſtance contributed more to inſpire him with a confidence of ſucceſs, than the new meaſures which, a little before the preſent period, had been embraced by the Court of France.

The affairs of France.

In the bloody conteſt, which had ſubſiſted for ſeveral years between the catholics and proteſtants in that kingdom, the former had generally been victorious. But the latter, rouſed by their leaders, aided by foreign powers, animated by zeal for their religion, and inflamed with reſentment on account of the cruel perſecutions which had been exerciſed againſt them, continued to make ſuch vigorous efforts, as created in their enemies the moſt alarming apprehenſions with regard to the iſſue of the war. The court had, at different times, offered them advantageous terms of accommodation; and peace had oftener than once been eſtabliſhed between the contending parties. But their pretenſions, their intereſts, and their religious principles, were incompatible; and they remained quiet only till they were in a condition to renew hoſtilities. The court never had more reaſon to entertain hopes of being able to extirpate their opponents, than towards the end of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-nine. Their brave and active leader, the Prince of Condé, had been killed in the battle of Jarnac; they had afterwards received a dreadful overthrow in the battle of Moncontour; and the admiral Coligni, with the young Princeſs of Bourbon, had been obliged to retire, with the feeble remains of their ſhattered army, to the mountains of Gaſcony and Languedoc. There, however, they exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly in making preparations for trying once more the fortune of war; and in a few months,

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they drew together a force ſufficient to enable them to leave their retreat, and to enter the liſts againſt the royal army.

Queen-mother's plot againſt the proteſtants.

WHEN intelligence of this was brought to the Queen-mother, who exerciſed at that time an unlimited authority in the government, ſhe was equally exaſperated and alarmed; and ſhe reſolved to employ other means than open force, to be avenged upon her enemies. She communicated her plan only to the king, the duke of Anjou, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Guiſe, and Alberto Gondi, count of Retz; who all engaged to maintain the moſt inviolable ſecrecy. Time only brought to light their dark deſign. The proteſtants, they now believed, were not to be overcome by the force of arms; and it was reſolved to have recourſe to fraud and circumvention.

IN purſuance of this plan, a new treaty with the princes of Navarre and the admiral was ſet on foot, and ſoon afterwards concluded at St. Germains. By this treaty, the proteſtants received a free pardon of all their paſt offences, with liberty to make public profeſſion of the reformed religion; and the princes and admiral were allowed, for their ſecurity, to retain poſſeſſion of Rochelle, Cognac, La Charitè, or Montauban, on condition, that if the articles of the peace were obſerved, theſe places ſhould be delivered to the king within the ſpace of two years from the date of the preſent pacification.

THE proteſtant leaders entertained the ſame diſtruſt of the ſincerity of the king and queen-mother in this, as in all their former negociations. They were ſtill afraid of putting themſelves in their power, and remained at a diſtance from Court, in the places of ſtrength which had been aſſigned them. In order to remove their ſuſpicions, every ſpecies of artifice was employed.

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All the articles of the peace were punctually fulfilled. Strict orders were iſſued to allow the proteſtants in all places to celebrate openly their religious aſſemblies; and in all the diſputes which happened between the catholics and them, the latter were treated with indulgence, while the former had, on many occaſions, reaſon to complain of injuſtice or ſeverity. Charles embraced every opportunity to expreſs the pleaſure which he now enjoyed, in having reſtored tranquillity to his kingdom; and even when none but zealous catholics were preſent, he often declared how unalterably fixed his purpoſe was, to perform, with ſtrict fidelity, his engagements with the proteſtants. He had ſufficiently experienced the folly of attempting to ſubdue men's conſciences by force; and no conſideration would make him return to his former unhappy meaſures; which he had found to be no leſs ineffectual for accompliſhing the end intended, than they were deſtructive of his own repoſe, and pernicious to his ſubjects. All his counſellors, except thoſe who were partners in the bloody ſecret, believed him to be ſincere; and, by the accounts which they give of his diſcourſe, added to the diſpleaſure which they expreſſed at his change of conduct, they contributed to complete the deluſion of the proteſtants. The admiral, however, ſtill retained his wonted diffidence; and when urged by the king to come to court, and receive in perſon every proof that could be given him of ſincere attachment, he declared, that it was impoſſible for him to think himſelf ſecure, where his mortal enemies of the family of Guiſe were poſſeſſed of ſo much power.

To have gratified the admiral by ſo great a conceſſion as the immediate removal of the Guiſes, Charles knew would have had a ſuſpicious aſpect; and therefore he went no further at this time, than to aſſure him that his fears were groundleſs, and that his

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enemies were not maſters as formerly. But ſoon after the duke of Guiſe and his brother left the court, ſeemingly much diſguſted with the meaſures which were there purſued. At the ſame time, other means of deluſion were employed, more likely to produce the deſired effect. Charles offered his ſiſter in marriage to the King of Navarre; and an ambaſſador was ſent to England, to negociate a match between the duke of Anjou and queen Elizabeth. But of all the inſtruments of deceit which he employed, there was none more efficacious, than the declaration which he made of his reſolution to enter into war with the king of Spain. Philip had refuſed, he ſaid, to grant him reparation for certain injuries which his ſubjects had received from the Spaniards in America; and he was determined to take vengeance on that prince, by invading his dominions in the Netherlands. He offered the command of the army, which he talked of ſending thither, to the admiral, and aſſured him that he would be entirely governed by his counſels, and thoſe of the prince of Orange and count Lewis, in carrying on the war.

No propoſal could be better calculated than this to blind the admiral's penetration. Conſcious of ſuperior military talents, he was naturally fond of war; ſincere in his profeſſion of the reformed religion, he was zealous to propagate and defend it; and he was ſtrongly attached by ſympathy of manners, as well as religious principles, to the princes of Naſſau. Count Lewis was with him at Rochelle, when the propoſal was delivered, and he contributed not a little to baniſh from his mind the remains of thoſe ſuſpicions, which he ſtill retained for the king's ſincerity. Soon afterwards they both ſet out for Paris, where they were received and treated with ſo much eſteem and confidence, as gave the admiral

miral a full conviction that the ſentiments both of the king and the queen-mother were in reality what they ſeemed.

CHARLES thought it neceſſary for his purpoſe to wear the maſk for ſome time longer; and as he found that nothing had ſerved ſo effectually to lull the admiral's ſuſpicions as this laſt device, he affected to be extremely ſolicitous about making preparations for the war; and in the mean time deſired count Lewis to repair to the frontiers of the Netherlands, to communicate his deſign to the malcontents, and to hold them in readineſs for the admiral's arrival with the troops. There was nothing farther from his intention than to begin hoſtilities. But no ſooner were the Hugonots informed of the deſign on which count Lewis had ſet out, than great numbers of them, prompted by their religious zeal, and by the reſtleſs military ſpirit of the age, flocked after him, and offered to aſſiſt him in any enterpriſe he ſhould undertake.

LEWIS was himſelf of too active a temper to ſuffer them to remain long without employment. It was of the utmoſt conſequence, he knew, towards the ſucceſs of that expedition on which his brother was about to enter, as well as of the French invaſion of the Netherlands, to acquire poſſeſſion early of ſome fortified town in the frontier provinces. With this view he had maintained a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the inhabitants of Mons; and he made himſelf maſter of that important city by the following ſtratagem.

HAVING left the confines of France, he arrived in the evening with five hundred horſe and a thouſand muſqueteers at a wood in the neighbourhood of Mons, whence he ſent forward ten or twelve of his ſoldiers, whom he ſelected on account of

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of their ſuperior addreſs and reſolution. They entered Mons in the evening, and lodged together in the ſame inn. They gave out that they were dealers in wine; informed their hoſt, that their ſervants were bringing a quantity of that liquor, and inquired at what hour the gate of the city, by which it was to be brought in, would be opened. They were told, that, for a ſmall reward, the keeper would open it at any time; and early next morning, having bribed the keeper to open it, they ſeized upon the keys, and diſperſed the guards. Count Lewis, who was at hand with a hundred horſe, immediately ruſhed in, and having taken poſſeſſion of the gate, with a part of his troops, he traverſed the principal ſtreets of the city with the reſt, and proclaimed to the inhabitants, that he was not come as an enemy, but as a friend; and that the prince of Orange was approaching with a powerful army, to aſſert their liberty, and to deliver them from all thoſe oppreſſive taxes which had been impoſed upon them by the duke of Alva.

ALL the citizens ſtill remained within their houſes, except a few who were privy to his deſign; but he began to grow uneaſy when he reflected on the ſmall number of men that were with him, and to wonder that the reſt of his troops were not come forward. It was to no purpoſe, he knew, to attempt keeping poſſeſſion of ſo great a town with ſo ſmall a force. He rode out therefore as faſt as he could towards the place where he had left his troops, who had loſt their way, and were wandering in the wood. He conducted them immediately to the city; not without anxiety, leſt he ſhould find the gate ſhut againſt him on his return. But ſuch was the conſternation of the citizens, and their ignorance of what had paſſed, that none of them had ventured to

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ſtir without their houſes. The gate was ſtill open, and every thing in the town as quiet and motionleſs as when he left it. He then placed his guards at the ſeveral gates, and on the ramparts; and calling the magiſtrates together, explained to them his own, and his brother's deſigns; giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that no violence ſhould be committed by his ſoldiers. After which he commanded ſuch of the citizens as he could not truſt, to deliver up their arms; and ordered all of them to proceed as formerly in the purſuit of their cuſtomary occupations. His troops did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men; but he ſoon acquired a much greater force by the acceſſion of many proteſtants, who haſtened to his aſſiſtance from Picardy and Champaign [b].

THE loſs of Mons affected the duke of Alva in the moſt ſenſible manner; and it gave him the greater uneaſineſs and concern, as it was altogether unexpected. Being no ſtranger to count Lewis's enterpriſing genius, he had kept an anxious eye upon all his motions, during his abode in France; eſpecially after the peace of St. Germains, and the kind reception he had met with from the king. The lateſt account which he had received of him from his ſpies at Paris was, that he was playing at tennis; by which piece of intelligence, they meant to inſinuate that he was more attentive to amuſement, than to any ſerious purſuit. When the duke therefore was informed of his ſucceſs at Mons, he diſcovered the utmoſt impatience and chagrin. In the rage which it excited in him, throwing down his hat, and trampling upon it, "I have been deceived, he cried, by a Tuſcan woman (meaning

[b] Bentivoglio, p. 95. Meurſii Auriacus, p. 79. Meteren, p. 95.

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Catherine of Medicis) but ere long, inſtead of Tuſcan lilies, ſhe ſhall feel the ſmart of Spaniſh thorns."

His vexation was much increaſed by his knowledge of the great importance of the place which he had loſt. He conſidered that Mons was not only the capital of the province of Hainault, but one of the largeſt and moſt populous cities in the Low-Countries; that, being ſituated in a marſhy ſoil, it might eaſily be rendered impregnable; that although it was not in the line of the barrier towns, yet it was removed at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the frontier, that the poſſeſſion of it muſt greatly facilitate the entrance of foreign troops into the provinces; and that either the French king, whoſe conduct had for ſome time paſt had ſo hoſtile an appearance, or the prince of Orange, could eaſily furniſh it with ſupplies.

THESE conſiderations made him reſolve to attempt the recovery of it without delay; but while he was making the preparations neceſſary for this purpoſe, he received intelligence of the revolution in Holland; and at the ſame time was informed, that the prince of Orange, having already collected a numerous army, was about to begin his march. Alva, far from ſhrinking at the view of ſo many impending dangers, exerted himſelf with great activity and vigour to repel them. He carried on his levies with the utmoſt diligence, and in a very ſhort time found himſelf poſſeſſed of between five and ſix thouſand German horſe and eighteen thouſand foot of the ſame nation; beſides fifty companies of Spaniards, and one hundred and fifty of Walloons, and other natives of the Netherlands. He would gladly have ſent a part of theſe forces to recover the revolted cities in the maritime provinces, and the reſt to the ſiege of Mons; but when he reflected

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on the difficulty which he muſt encounter in either of theſe two enterpriſes, he apprehended that his army, numerous as it was, could not with ſafety be divided. He reſolved therefore to employ it, whole and entire, againſt his enemies on one hand of him, before he ſhould turn it to the other.

STILL, however, he remained in great perplexity, finding it difficult to determine whether it was moſt expedient to begin with the ſiege of Mons, or the recovery of the maritime provinces. And to aſſiſt him in deciding this important queſtion, he called a council of his principal officers; when the marquis of Vitelli, one of the firſt in rank, as well as in military merit, adviſed him earneſtly to begin with the latter, and ſupported his opinion by obſerving, "That although the interior provinces were liable to be invaded from the ſide of France or Germany, yet it would not be difficult to recover whatever cities ſhould be loſt in thoſe provinces, as the inhabitants were in general more loyal than thoſe of Holland and Zealand, and much leſs infected with the ſpirit of innovation in religion. That the Huguenots under count Lewis were deſtitute of means to ſupport themſelves, and muſt ſoon be diſperſed; for he could not be perſuaded that the French king, who had hitherto ſhewn ſo much zeal for the true religion, would ever debaſe himſelf ſo far, as to favour the attempts of his rebellious ſubjects to ſubvert it. The German forces under the prince of Orange, undiſciplined and tumultuary, were actuated in their preſent warfare, by no other motives but thoſe of pay and plunder. And if they were diſappointed in their expectation of theſe, there was little ground to doubt that they would chooſe rather to return home, after taking vengeance on their leaders, than expoſe themſelves to the fatigue and danger of beſieging

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towns and fortreſſes. We may therefore, without anxiety," continued he, "put off the ſiege of Mons, and the defence of the inland frontier, till a more convenient ſeaſon ſhall arrive. But the ſtate of the maritime provinces admits not of the leaſt delay. The people there are univerſally infected with herefy. They have conceived a degree of phrenzy, and indulged themſelves in the moſt extravagant exceſſes againſt the church and the king. Their ſituation, ſtrong by nature, will ſoon be rendered impregnable. Every paſſage of a river and canal will require an army to force it, and every ſiege, a campaign to finiſh it. By the ſea, and by the rivers, they can be always richly furniſhed with proviſions; they can every hour receive ſuccour from France, Germany, or England; and will be able, by their naval force, to prevent the king's army from receiving ſupplies from Spain. It is there too, the prince of Orange, for many years, was governor. There he poſſeſſes ſeveral large eſtates; and he has formed there numerous and cloſe connexions with perſons of the greateſt influence in the country. As it was in theſe provinces he firſt erected the ſtandard of rebellion, it is in them he intends to fix the ſeat of that uſurped dominion which he is ſo ambitious to maintain. Let us attack our enemy firſt in his ſtrong hold; and when we have driven him from thence, we ſhall find it much eaſier to prevent him from eſtabliſhing himſelf in any other quarter."

SUCH were the reaſons which Vitelli gave for adviſing the duke of Alva to poſtpone the ſiege of Mons; and, if his advice had been followed, it is probable that the republic of the United Provinces would never have been formed. The people had not yet had time to put the cities into a proper ſtate of defence; and they could not have long reſiſted ſo great a force as the duke of Alva might

might have employed to ſubdue them. Amſterdam and Middleburg were ſtill unſhaken in their allegiance. With the ſhips belonging to theſe two wealthy cities, and thoſe which he would have received from Spain, a fleet might have been equipped ſuperior to that of the proteſtants; who muſt have been ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to whatever terms Philip might have thought fit to impoſe.

No ſuch pernicious conſequences as thoſe which were foretold by Vitelli, could have followed from allowing the enemy to remain for ſome time in poſſeſſion of Mons; nor even from the conqueſt which the prince of Orange might have made of other places. In an open country, ſuch as the interior provinces, the fate of towns muſt depend entirely on the number and diſcipline of the armies employed to attack or defend them; and in both theſe reſpects, the duke of Alva had reaſon to believe that he would be at all times able to maintain his ſuperiority; eſpecially if, by firſt reducing the maritime provinces, he could keep open his communication by ſea with Spain.

But it is infinitely eaſier for men to judge concerning matters of ſuch nice deliberation, after the event has happened, than when they are about to enter upon action. It ought to be conſidered, that Alva had not yet experienced the difficulties attending the ſiege of towns, ſituated in a country ſo much interſected by the ſea, by rivers, and canals, as the maritime provinces; and could not foreſee thoſe amazing exertions which the people made, firſt in their preparations for war, and afterwards in the defence of their cities when attacked. He had likewiſe reaſon to entertain ſuſpicions of the hoſtile intentions of the French king. He dreaded the havoc which would be made by

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the army of the prince of Orange, in the richer and more fertile provinces; and thought it would bring an indelible ſtain upon his honour, if he did not endeavour to prevent it. Beſides theſe motives, it is not improbable, conſidering the natural violence of his temper, that he was in ſome degree influenced, in the reſolution which he formed, by his perſonal jealouſy of the prince of Orange, and his deſire of diſappointing a ſecond time the attempts of one who had formerly rivalled him in the favour of his prince.

The ſiege of Mons.

WHATEVER were his motives, he reſolved to begin his operations with the ſiege of Mons; and to delay the reduction of Holland till he ſhould diſengage himſelf from his enemies on the ſouthern frontier. In order to increaſe the number of his forces, he commanded the garriſons of Rotterdam and Delfshaven, the only towns in Holland in which he had any garriſons left, to join him; and immediately ſent off his ſon Frederic de Toledo, accompanied by Noircarmes and Vitelli, with a part of the troops, to form the blockade of Mons.

THE inhabitants of that city, though ſuſpicious at firſt of count Lewis's intentions, were now well ſatisfied with his government, and were ſolicitous to provide for their defence againſt the Spaniards. They aſſiſted him with great alacrity in completing their fortifications. They were active in laying in military ſtores and proviſions; and having repeatedly ſallied out for this purpoſe, after Toledo's arrival in their neighbourhood, they had ſeveral rencounters with his troops.

LEWIS had, ſome time before, ſent the Sieur de Jenlis to Paris, to inform the king of his ſucceſs, and to ſolicit the ſpeedy march of the troops which he had promiſed to ſend to his aſſiſtance.

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Charles received Jenlis in the moſt gracious manner, affected to be extremely happy with the accounts which he had brought him, and gave him authority to levy forces; hoping that, before they could take the field, he would be able to put an end to the ſcene of diſſimulation which he had ſo long been acting. But the admiral, who was allowed to exerciſe an unlimited power in the adminiſtration, puſhed forward the levies with greater vigour than the king intended; and, in a few weeks, Jenlis was ready to ſet out with between four and five thouſand foot and four hundred horſe. The admiral and count Lewis concurred in adviſing him to direct his march by the way of Cambray, that he might avoid being intercepted by the enemy, and join the army of the prince of Orange. But Jenlis refuſed to comply with this wholeſome counſel. He vainly hoped to be able, with his own forces alone, to oblige the Spaniards to quit the ſiege; and he wiſhed to ſecure this honour to himſelf, rather than leave it to be reaped by the prince of Orange. Notice was ſent privately to Toledo, from the court of France, of the route which he was to take, and of the time of his departure. Toledo immediately drew off his forces from the blockade, and advanced to meet him on the frontier; being deſirous to engage at a diſtance from the town, leſt count Lewis ſhould ſally out, and attack the Spaniards in the rear, when they were engaged in battle with Jenlis. Toledo had reached a village called St. Ghiſlain, at the diſtance of a few miles from Mons, when he was informed that the enemy had entered a neighbouring wood, and that upon their coming out from it he might attack them with great advantage. He ordered his cavalry to march firſt, and followed as faſt as he was able with the infantry. The cavalry had almoſt reached the borders of the wood, when they perceived a hundred of the

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enemy's horſe that had been ſent before to reconnoitre. Theſe the Spaniards inſtantly attacked, and drove back into the wood, purſuing them cloſely till they reached the main army, which was thrown into confuſion by the precipitate flight of the fugitives. In a very little time the whole Spaniſh army arrived, and began the attack, before Jenlis had time to draw up his men in order of battle. The French made reſiſtance, however, for two hours with great bravery; but at laſt they gave way, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight. Upwards of twelve hundred fell on the field, and many were killed in the purſuit, partly by the Spaniards, and partly by the country people, who took cruel vengeance for the injuries which they had received from them in their march. Jenlis himſelf was taken priſoner, and conducted to the citadel of Antwerp; where, having died ſuddenly, his death was aſcribed to poiſon. The loſs ſuſtained by the Spaniſh army was inconſiderable.

Alva's arrival before Mons.

TOLEDO returned to Mons in a few days after this diſtinguiſhed victory; and ſoon after the duke of Alva arrived. This cautious general having drawn a double trench and rampart round his army, by which it was rendered ſecure on one ſide againſt the ſallies of the beſieged, and on the other, againſt any ſudden attack that might be made upon it by the prince of Orange, he immediately erected ſeveral batteries, and began his fire in different quarters with great fury. The beſieged diſcovered no leſs vigour in their defence; which was conducted with great prudence, as well as the moſt indefatigable activity, by count Lewis, ſeconded in all his operations by the celebrated La Noue, who had gained diſtinguiſhed renown in the civil wars of France.

BUT

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BUT although the beſieged diſplayed the utmoſt ſkill and intrepidity, they had no hopes of being able to raiſe the ſiege, without the aſſiſtance of the prince of Orange. William had already penetrated into the Low Countries, and advanced as far as Ruremond. There he ſtopped, and demanded a ſupply of proviſions for his troops. The government of the town was in the hands of zealous catholics, who not only rejected his requeſt, but accompanied their refuſal with a degree of haughtineſs and inſolence, by which the prince and his army were highly exaſperated. There were many of the citizens, however, with whom he had formerly held intelligence. Having at this time renewed his correſpondence with them, he made a briſk attack upon one of the gates. The catholics ſuſtained it with ſpirit; but while they were thus employed, the proteſtant inhabitants ſnatched the opportunity, and introduced the aſſailants by another gate into the city. It was not then in the power of the prince of Orange to reſtrain the fury of his ſoldiers. They plundered many of the citizens, violated the churches, and put to death, with great barbarity, ſeveral prieſts, and other religioniſts. By ſome popiſh hiſtorians, William himſelf has been blamed on account of theſe enormities. But theſe writers ſeem neither to have known that he publiſhed an edict to prevent them, nor to have conſidered, that as he could not but perceive that violent meaſures were calculated to hurt his cauſe, by alienating the affections of the people in other cities, ſo his conduct on innumerable other occaſions, furniſhes the ſtrongeſt proof of his utter averſion to all cruelty and outrage.

WILLIAM's acquiſition of Ruremond was of great importance, as it put him in poſſeſſion of a commodious paſſage over the Maeſe; he therefore left a garriſon to defend it, and haſtened forwards to Hainault. The citizens of Mechlin having been gained over to

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his intereſt by the Sieur de Dorp, opened their gates to receive him. There he likewiſe left a garriſon. The citizens of Louvain refuſed to admit him within their walls; but, on his preparing to employ force, they conſented to grant him a contribution; of which he accepted, in order to ſave the time which the ſiege would have coſt him. Nivelle, Dieſt, Sichem, Tillemont, and ſeveral other towns ſurrendered to him; ſome through fear, and others through the affection which they bore to his cauſe or perſon. Dendremond and Oudenarde were taken by ſurpriſe, and great irregularities were committed by the ſoldiers in both theſe places, eſpecially in the latter, where, notwithſtanding their leader's prohibition, they once more indulged that ungovernable fury with which their bigotry inſpired them againſt the eccleſiaſtics of the Romiſh communion.

WILLIAM made his ſtay at each of theſe places as ſhort as poſſible. He did not, however, arrive in Hainault till the beginning of September, when his army amounted to more than twenty thouſand men.

So great an army could not be ſupported long without more ample funds than he poſſeſſed. The States of Holland had ſent him a conſiderable ſum. The exiles had tranſmitted to him a part of the money that aroſe from their captures. His other friends had raiſed contributions proportioned to their abilities. But ſo great had been the expence of levying, equipping, and maintaining his troops, and ſuch immenſe ſums had been laid out in purchaſing artillery and military ſtores, that he had occaſion ſtill for all the ſupplies which had been promiſed him by the court of France.

BUT his hopes of relief from that quarter were now utterly extinguiſhed. The plan of treachery above-mentioned, which had

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had been carried on for two years, with a degree of perſeverance as well as of diſſimulation that has not its paralled in hiſtory, was at this time brought to a concluſion. The artifices employed to delude the proteſtant leaders had at length ſucceeded, and they were almoſt all caught in the net which had been prepared for their deſtruction.

THE admiral had remained at court for ſeveral months, during which time Charles gave him every day freſh marks of affection and eſteem. That deceitful monarch had ſhewn likewiſe a particular attachment to the admiral's friends, and was perpetually ſurrounded with them at council, in his own apartments, and when he went abroad. With his permiſſion, the admiral had left Paris, and gone to Chatillon, where he ſtaid for ſome time to ſettle his private affairs. This indulgence was calculated to create in him the moſt aſſured confidence; ſince it could hardly be ſuppoſed, that if the king had intended him any harm, by enticing him to court, he would have allowed him to depart from it. To ſuch a height was the admiral's ſecurity now riſen, that when Charles expreſſed his deſire of having all grounds of enmity between him and the Guiſes removed, he readily conſented that they ſhould come to Paris, and agreed to refer the ſeveral points of difference between himſelf and them to the king's deciſion. In a few days after, the duke of Guiſe arrived, attended by a numerous train of dependants; and a formal reconciliation was made in preſence of the king. But it ſoon appeared how little ſincerity there was on one ſide, in the profeſſions which were uttered on that occaſion.

As a prelude to the final cataſtrophe, the queen of Navarre, a princeſs who by her ſpirit and magnanimity had long been formidable to the catholics, died, after a ſhort illneſs, which was gene-

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rally aſcribed to poiſon. And an attempt was made, by a partiſan of Guiſe, to aſſaſſinate the admiral. By this laſt event the proteſtants were greatly alarmed; but the king and queen-mother, by redoubling their diſſimulation, and aſſuming, with conſummate artifice, the appearance of deep concern for what had happened, prevented the admiral from ſuſpecting *them* to have been privy to it, and diverted him and the other proteſtant leaders from forming any vigorous reſolution of providing for their ſafety. They were all found therefore defenceleſs and unprepared.

In that horrid ſcene which paſſed on the night of the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, the duke of Guiſe was the principal actor. But his ſavage ſpirit quickly diffuſed itſelf into every breaſt; and no catholic declined to aſſiſt him in the execution of his bloody purpoſe. The admiral, to whom, not many days before, he had pledged his friendſhip, was among the firſt who fell a ſacrifice to his fury. This great man died with a fortitude and tranquillity ſuitable to his character. "Young man," ſaid he to La Beſme, (who was ſent into his apartment by the duke of Guiſe, while Guiſe himſelf remained without till the deed was perpetrated) "you ought to reverence grey hairs; but proceed to the execution of your deſign; you can ſhorten my life but a very little." While he was ſaying this, the aſſaſſin plunged his ſword into his breaſt. At the ſame time all his domeſtics and friends were murdered; among whom was the brave Guerchy, his lieutenant, and his ſon-in-law, the amiable Teligny, who had won even the ſavage heart of Charles, and whoſe engaging aſpect ſuſpended for ſome time the lifted hands of his murderers. But it does not belong to this hiſtory to enter more particularly into the detail of this tranſaction. Upwards of ten thouſand proteſtants were maſ-

ſacred

ſacred in Paris alone; and in the other cities of the kingdom, between fifty and ſixty thouſand.

OF this horrid maſſacre, the firſt idea is ſaid to have been ſuggeſted to the queen-mother by Philip, through the duke of Alva, at conferences held at Bayonne in one thouſand five hundred and fifty-nine; and it is certain, that intelligence of it was received at Madrid with the utmoſt joy. Philip offered public thankſgiving to heaven for the deſtruction of his enemies; and wrote to Charles a congratulatory letter on the ſubject. On the other hand, it filled the proteſtants in the Low-Countries with horror and conſternation. Their hopes of obtaining deliverance from the Spaniſh yoke, through the powerful aid of France, had been raiſed to the greateſt height, and their dejection now was in proportion to their former expectations.

NOTHING could be more galling to the prince of Orange than the news of this diſaſter. Beſides the cruel diſappointment of finding a powerful monarch his mortal enemy, whom he had ſo much reaſon to believe to be his friend, he knew not what dangerous effect this unexpected revolution might produce upon his troops, eſpecially as ſome of them were ſubjects of France, and had entered into his ſervice, under a belief that their king was to ſupport them in their preſent enterpriſe.

Operations of the prince of Orange.

PERCEIVING, therefore, the neceſſity of puſhing forward his operations with the utmoſt vigour, and being perſuaded, that, without ſome ſignal inſtance of ſucceſs, he could not long ſupport his army, he advanced without delay towards Mons; being reſolved to try every expedient, not only to raiſe the ſiege, but if poſſible to bring on a general engagement.

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THE duke eaſily penetrated into his deſign, and omitted nothing in his power to prevent him from carrying it into execution. After the arrival of ſeveral German auxiliaries in his camp, his army was ſuperior in number, as it had always been in diſcipline, to that of the prince; and he could not have much reaſon to dread the event of a battle, in caſe he ſhould find it unavoidable. But knowing that the fate of battles is decided ſometimes by accidents, againſt which no human prudence can provide; and conſidering, that the prince's army, through the ſcantineſs of his funds, would probably ſoon fall to pieces of itſelf, he reſumed the principles on which he had acted in the time of William's former expedition, and reſolved to avoid expoſing his troops to any unneceſſary riſk; hoping, that, by tiring out the enemy, he ſhould be able to triumph over them without fighting. With this view, while he inveſted the town on every ſide, and prevented any ſupplies from being thrown into it, he entrenched his camp ſo ſtrongly, as to render it entirely impracticable for the prince of Orange to force his lines. He fortified the ſeveral paſſes by which the town might be approached in the ſtrongeſt manner; watched over every operation himſelf, with indefatigable attention; and forbade his men to engage in the ſlighteſt ſkirmiſh with the enemy, whatever provocation they might receive.

AFTER having taken theſe precautions, he ſent out five hundred horſe to reconnoitre. They were met by nearly the ſame number of German horſe, commanded by count Henry, William's youngeſt brother, who being ambitious to diſtinguiſh himſelf in this his firſt campaign, attacked the Spaniards with uncommon fury, and after killing many of them, broke their ranks, and drove them back in great confuſion. The prince himſelf followed

followed ſoon afterwards with all his army, and drew it up in battle array before the duke of Alva's camp. BOOK XI. 1572.

BUT Alva, more determined than ever ſince the repulſe of the cavalry to adhere to his plan, kept all his men within their entrenchments. The prince of Orange omitted nothing in his power to induce him to change his purpoſe. He ſhifted his ground, intercepted the convoys of proviſions, attacked the foragers, and ſent out parties on every ſide, with a view to entice the enemy to quit their lines.

THERE were perſons in the Spaniſh camp who condemned their general's conduct on this occaſion, and exhorted him to put to proof that courage of which the enemy were ſo extremely oſtentatious. Among theſe was the archbiſhop of Cologne[c], whoſe ardent ſpirit breathed nothing but war and battle, and who could not reliſh thoſe cautious maxims by which the duke of Alva had reſolved to regulate his conduct. Alva remained equally firm againſt the importunities of his friends, and the arts that were practiſed by the enemy. It was a maxim often in his mouth, that as all human events are precarious, the moſt precarious of all is a battle: to which he added, that it ought not to be the aim of a general to fight, but to overcome; and that there were other means by which this aim might be accompliſhed more effectually than by fighting.

BUT although his conduct was not approved by the archbiſhop of Cologne, he had the ſatisfaction to know that it gave the deepeſt uneaſineſs to the prince of Orange; who perceived, that if an opportunity did not offer ſoon of ſtriking ſome important blow,

[c] The count of Iſenberg.

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by which he might raiſe the ſiege, it would not be poſſible for him to keep his army together. His finances did not enable him to bring proviſions from a diſtance, and all the country round had been plundered by the Spaniards. Being driven therefore to deſpair, he made a bold effort to break through the enemy's entrenchments; but this adventurous attempt, which nothing could juſtify but the urgent motive that incited him, was attended with ſuch an iſſue as he had reaſon to expect. His men were bravely repulſed, and a conſiderable loſs ſuſtained.

He now relinquiſhed all hopes of either raiſing the ſiege, or forcing an engagement; and he reſolved to leave Hainault, after attempting to introduce ſuch ſupplies into the town as might enable the garriſon to hold out till winter, when the duke of Alva would be obliged to retire. For this purpoſe, he made choice of two thouſand horſe and one thouſand foot, the flower of his army. There was only a ſingle paſs by which they could have acceſs to the town, and at that place Alva had built a ſtrong fort, of which he committed the defence to a ſelect body of Spaniſh troops, under the command of Sancio d'Avila and Julia Romero. Notwithſtanding this precaution, which left hardly a poſſibility of ſucceſs, the troops deſtined for the relief of Mons advanced towards the paſs with the utmoſt intrepidity. Romero and D'Avila received them with equal intrepidity; and were ſeconded by the guns of the fort. The combat was hot and furious. There was a briſk cannonading during the time of it from the two armies, and from the town; but the fire from the fort did the greateſt execution; and the Germans, after ſeveral hundreds of their number had fallen, were at laſt obliged to abandon their attempt.

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The prince is obliged to leave Hainault.

THE prince of Orange now convinced of the impoſſibility of relieving the beſieged in oppoſition to ſo powerful an army, immediately decamped. The duke of Alva followed him next day with moſt of his forces, and in every movement diſcovered the moſt conſummate ſkill; ſo that he at once prevented the prince from returning towards Mons, and avoided being reduced himſelf to the neceſſity of fighting. It was not long before he learned that there was not the ſame good order in the prince's army, which had hitherto been obſerved in it. William's authority over his troops had ſuffered greatly by the failure of his late attempts; and he was unable any longer to maintain that perfect diſcipline, without which no army, however numerous, can be formidable.

ALVA readily embraced the opportunity which this circumſtance afforded him. Having taken a view in perſon of the enemy's quarters, he reſolved to attack them in the night. He committed the charge of this enterpriſe to Julio Romero, and gave him two thouſand choſen infantry, who were ordered to be ready to march in the middle of the night, each with a ſhirt over his armour, to enable them to diſtinguiſh one another. They fell with great fury on the Germans, who were ſtationed to guard the camp; and as moſt of them were faſt aſleep, they made dreadful havoc among them, till the alarm was communicated to the reſt, who were ſoon rouſed by the groans and ſhrieks of the wounded. At firſt, believing that the whole Spaniſh army had attacked them, they fled precipitately. The aſſailants had in the beginning ſet fire to the tents, and many of the Germans periſhed in the flames. But this circumſtance, by which the horror of the ſcene was augmented, ſaved the German army from deſtruction.

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deſtruction. It diſcovered the number of the Spaniards, and made it eaſier for the prince of Orange to draw up his men, and to know in what quarter he might find the enemy. But the aſſailants, perceiving that the whole camp was up in arms, made their retreat in time, and eluded the vengeance which they ſaw approaching. By the favour of the night they eſcaped with little loſs, after having put to the ſword near five hundred of the Germans.

THE conſequences of this diſaſter were more pernicious to the prince of Orange than the diſaſter itſelf. It filled his troops with conſternation, and gave them a formidable idea of the Spaniards, whom, on account of their having ſo often declined fighting, they had been accuſtomed to deſpiſe. Without waiting for orders, they haſtily decamped with one conſent, and left a part of their baggage a prey to the enemy. They had not candour to acknowledge that the misfortune which had befallen them on the preceding night was owing to their negligence in obeying orders. They were diſpoſed to throw the blame of it upon their general, and began to complain, that inſtead of enriching them with ſpoil, he had brought them into the Low-Countries, only to expoſe them to perpetual hardſhips and diſtreſs. He found means, however, at this time, to quiet their minds, and in ſome meaſure to rectify their opinion of his conduct.

THE duke of Alva was on this occaſion urged by his officers to purſue the prince till he ſhould drive him entirely out of the Netherlands; but he repeated the old maxim, That it is wiſer to make a bridge for a flying enemy, than to reduce them to deſpair; and returned to the ſiege.

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THE prince of Orange led his troops to Mechlin; and having remained there for ſome days to recruit them after their fatigue, he continued his march northwards, till he had brought them as far as Orſoy in the dutchy of Cleves. At that place their ill-humour broke out afreſh with greater violence than ever, and they began to hold private meetings, in which they deliberated, whether, in order to procure payment of their arrears, they ſhould not deliver him up to the duke of Alva. The principal officers received this ungenerous propoſal with horror and indignation. They were convinced that the prince had done every thing that could have been done by a general of the moſt conſummate abilities. They knew that he had begun his enterpriſe with the higheſt probability of ſucceſs, and that his failure in it had been almoſt entirely owing to the treacherous dealings of the French king; by truſting to whom, he had engaged in a very different plan of operations from that which he would otherwiſe have adopted. By theſe conſiderations the officers were entirely ſatisfied; and through their influence, the common ſoldiers were perſuaded to relinquiſh their perfidious deſign. The army was immediately diſbanded; and William ſet out for Holland, where the people longed for his arrival.

He diſbands his army.

HIS retreat from Mons gave his brother, count Lewis, who was naturally of a ſanguine temper, the deepeſt affliction. And this, joined to the extreme fatigue which he had undergone for ſeveral months before, threw him into a violent diſtemper, which prevented him for ſome time from attending to the ſiege. But during his confinement La Noue conducted the defence with ſo much ſkill and intrepidity, that Alva, deſpairing of being able before winter to take the town by force, was willing to agree

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to ſuch terms of capitulation, as count Lewis thought it not diſhonourable to accept. Theſe were, that the French, count Lewis, the Flemiſh nobility, and all who were not inhabitants of the place, ſhould leave it with their arms and baggage; and that ſuch of the inhabitants as had borne arms might leave it with their effects, but not their arms. That ſuch of them as were catholics might remain in the town unmoleſted; but that all the proteſtants ſhould not only depart from the town, but from the Netherlands; and that all perſons, whether citizens or foreigners, ſhould take an oath, that they would not carry arms for the ſpace of a year, either againſt the king of France or the king of Spain, from which oath count Lewis alone was exempted. This capitulation was ſigned by the dukes of Alva and Medina-cœli, by Frederic de Toledo, and the baron de Noicarmes; and all the conditions of it were punctually fulfilled.

Enormities of the Spaniards at Mechlin.

IN this manner was Mons recovered from the proteſtants, after it had been more than three months in their poſſeſſion. The duke of Alva felt no anxiety with regard to the recovery of the cities which had received the prince of Orange. They were neither ſtrongly fortified nor ſufficiently provided with garriſons to defend them. The firſt againſt which he turned his arms was Mechlin; and he ordered his ſon to lead thither the Spaniſh troops, who having received no pay for ſome time, advanced like ſo many famiſhed wolves, with a reſolution to ſatiate their rapacity by plundering the inhabitants.

ON their arrival, the garriſon which had been left in the town by the prince of Orange ſeemed determined to make reſiſtance; but finding the citizens averſe from co-operating with them, and deſpairing of being able, without their aſſiſtance, to

hold out long, they deſerted the place in the night; and next morning all the prieſts and eccleſiaſtics went in ſolemn proceſſion to Toledo's tent, to deprecate his vengeance. When they were pleading the cauſe of the unhappy anxious inhabitants, and repreſenting that only a ſmall number of them had been guilty, while by far the greateſt part had preſerved their allegiance; the ſoldiers, apprehenſive that Toledo might liſten to this apology, and diſappoint them of their prey, ruſhed forward to the city, and broke into it, ſome by the gates, and others, by the help of ſcaling ladders, over the walls. Then ſpreading themſelves like a deluge, they gave a looſe to every ſpecies of violence; butchering ſome, and plundering all without mercy. There was no diſtinction made of age, ſex, or condition. Virgins and matrons were violated before the eyes of their parents and huſbands. The churches and convents were pillaged as well as private houſes; and the nuns were not exempted from that brutal luſt and fury, which the Spaniards indulged without controul.

Juſtified by the duke of Alva.

THE duke of Alva was ſenſible how great an odium muſt attend ſuch a barbarous treatment of a city, which had hitherto been diſtinguiſhed for its fidelity; yet he choſe to juſtify what had been done, and in a few days afterwards publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared, that the citizens had ſuffered no more than their rebellion had deſerved; that juſtice was not yet entirely ſatisfied; that their crime merited a ſtill ſeverer puniſhment, than barely to be deprived of their effects; and that other cities which had already imitated, or ſhould afterwards imitate, their example, might expect, ſooner or later, to meet with the ſame fate. Of the ſacrilege that had been committed on the churches and convents, and the ſhocking treatment

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of the weaker ſex, no mention was made in the manifeſto, and no excuſe was ever offered for paſſing over theſe enormities with impunity. Great arrears, ſaid the apologiſts of Alva, were at that time due to the ſoldiers; and, as he could not ſatisfy them, he either thought it reaſonable to allow them to take a compenſation for their pay; or, being well acquainted with their ferocious tempers, he was afraid to exerciſe his authority. The Spaniſh ſoldiers themſelves, though little ſcrupulous with reſpect to crimes contrary to the laws of nature, juſtice, and humanity, were afterwards, agreeably to the character of their nation, touched with remorſe on account of their violation of the churches; and in order to atone for their guilt, they hearkened to the dictates of ſuperſtition, and laid out a portion of their plunder in building a houſe for the jeſuits in Antwerp[e].

Cruelty of the Spaniards at Zutphen.

ALVA having gone to Maeſtricht, where he diſmiſſed his German horſe, went from thence to Bruſſels, while the Spaniards were permitted to remain at Mechlin for ſeveral days, which they employed in collecting their plunder, and ſending it off in boats to Antwerp, to be expoſed to ſale. Toledo then led them againſt the other cities which had received German garriſons. Theſe garriſons fled on his approach; and the people agreed to pay exorbitant contributions to ſave their cities from being ſacked: nor did he meet with any oppoſition in his progreſs, till he came to Zutphen, which was at that time a place of conſiderable ſtrength. It was defended with a wall flanked with baſtions, and ſurrounded with a deep ditch. The Iſſel waſhes the fortifications on one ſide, the Berkel on another; and the ground on the other two ſides is ſo extremely wet and marſhy as to render the place, for the great-

[e] Meteren, p. 107. Campana, p. 97. Bentivoglio, p. 114.

eſt part of the year, almoſt inacceſſible. But unfortunately for the proteſtants in garriſon, they could not avail themſelves of theſe advantages at this juncture; the froſt having ſet in with uncommon ſeverity ſeveral days before the arrival of Toledo. He found no difficulty therefore in approaching the place with his batteries, and he ſoon made a breach in the wall. He was preparing for an aſſault, when he received intelligence, that the garriſon, and all ſuch as had rendered themſelves obnoxious, had gone out of the town by the oppoſite gate; and that the citizens who remained were now, when left at liberty to act agreeably to their inclination, willing immediately to ſurrender at diſcretion. But Toledo having, by the ſmall reſiſtance which the garriſon had made, got a pretext for plundering this unhappy people, refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation, and ordered his troops to advance. They entered the town without oppoſition, and repeated there the ſame ſhocking barbarities which they had exerciſed in Mechlin, with this difference, that as there was much leſs booty in Zutphen, to ſatisfy their rapacity, they indulged their cruelty ſo much the more. They put to the ſword all the citizens who fell in their way, men and women without diſtinction; and when they were tired with ſlaughtering, they caſt great numbers into the Iſſel, and indulged themſelves in the horrid joy of beholding the unhappy ſufferers periſh in the ſtream. By the ſword and water, above five hundred periſhed; and the reſt were obliged to redeem their lives by the moſt oppreſſive contributions, which were ſo cruelly exacted, that the living had reaſon to envy the fate of thoſe whom death had delivered from ſuch intolerable miſery[f].

[f] Meteren, p. 110. Bentivoglio, p. 115. Meurſii Auriacus, p. 98.

THE

BOOK XII.

HISTORY.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK XII.

WHILE the Spaniſh army was employed in the ſiege of Mons, and in ſubduing the other revolted towns in the ſouthern provinces, the people of Holland and Zealand improved the leiſure which was afforded them, by taking every precaution in their power to ſecure themſelves from being again reduced under the Spaniſh yoke. They increaſed the number of their ſhips of war, completed their fortifications, and levied ſo great a number of forces, as, with the great advantages of their ſituation, they hoped would be ſufficient for their defence.

1572. Tranſactions in Holland and Zealand.

BEFORE the duke of Alva ſet out for Mons, he had, agreeably to orders tranſmitted to him from Spain, read, in preſence of the States of Brabant, Artois, Hainault, and Flanders, a declaration, that he would paſs from the taxes of the tenth and twentieth pennies,

Philip paſſes from the taxes of the 10th and 20th penny in June.

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pennies, on condition that the States would deviſe ſome other means by which the money neceſſary for the king's ſervice might be raiſed. Intimation was made of this conceſſion to the States of Holland, by the count of Boſſut; who, in the name of the governor, commanded them to aſſemble at the Hague, to conſider of what other taxes they would ſubſtitute in the room of thoſe which had been formerly impoſed.

His conceſſion diſregarded by the States.

THIS conceſſion, which, if it had been made ſooner, might have prevented the revolt of the maritime provinces, was not attended with the deſired effect. It excited in the minds of the people the higheſt degree of joy and exultation; but they did not think themſelves indebted for it, either to the king or the duke of Alva. They aſcribed it wholly to the dread that was entertained of the prince of Orange, to whom alone they thought themſelves bound for this firſt inſtance of attention that had been ſhewn to their inclination or intereſt ſince Philip's acceſſion to the throne. They could not doubt, that if his apprehenſions of the German army were removed, Alva would be again permitted to reſume the purſuit of that plan of tyranny which he had been obliged to ſuſpend. They were well acquainted with the vindictive ſpirit which animated Philip's counſels. They knew that, for much ſlighter offences than thoſe of which they had been guilty, many thouſands of their countrymen had ſuffered the moſt cruel death; and they believed, that whatever aſſurances might be given them of pardon, the memory of their guilt would never be extinguiſhed but in their blood. By the unrelenting cruelty which had been exerciſed againſt the proteſtants, added to the contempt which had been ſhewn to their fundamental rights and laws, the people were entirely alienated from Philip's perſon and government.

They

They were convinced that he had reſolved to treat them henceforth, not as ſubjects but as ſlaves; and they had long repined and murmured at their fate.

FROM the time of Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, all the proteſtants who had eſcaped from the cruelty of the inquiſitors, had carefully concealed their ſentiments, and conformed to the eſtabliſhed worſhip; but having of late received a great increaſe of number, by the return of many of the exiles, they had thrown off the maſk; and it now appeared, that by far the greateſt part of the inhabitants, and even of the deputies of the States, were ſtrongly attached to the reformed religion. Their religious zeal co-operated with their abhorrence of the Spaniſh tyranny; and both together inſpired them with a fixed unalterable purpoſe to defend their liberty to the laſt.

They meet at Dort,

PROMPTED by theſe motives, the States paid no regard to the order for aſſembling at the Hague, tranſmitted to them by Boſſut; and that they might the more ſtrongly expreſs their contempt of the governor's authority, they appointed an aſſembly to be held at Dort. Of this aſſembly they gave early notice to the prince of Orange, and intreated him to ſend one of his moſt faithful friends, properly inſtructed, to aſſiſt them in their deliberations. The perſon whom the prince made choice of for this purpoſe, was the Sieur de St. Aldegond, the author of the compromiſe, who had long been well acquainted with William's moſt ſecret views and ſentiments.

and enter into engagements with the prince of Orange.

ST. Aldegond readily undertook the taſk impoſed upon him; and at the firſt meeting of the States, gave them thanks in the name of the prince, for the intimation which they had ſent him, of their reſolution to vindicate their liberty under his direction.

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"The prince was conſcious, he ſaid, of being ſeriouſly intereſted in the welfare of all the provinces, and of none more than thoſe of Holland and Zealand, which for ſeveral years had been the objects of his particular attention. From time to time he had heard with indignation and grief, of the diſtreſs and miſery to which they had been reduced through the Spaniſh tyranny; and there was nothing which he deſired more ardently, than to be inſtrumental in recovering for them thoſe invaluable rights, which for ages paſt had proved the ſource of their proſperity. In order to accompliſh this end, he had ſpared neither expence nor labour. He had failed in his former attempt for their deliverance, not (he hoped, they would believe) through any negligence or miſconduct, but through the ſuperior power and more copious reſources of the enemy. In his preſent armament, he had already expended all that remained of his once ample fortune; and as in levying his army, he had truſted in a great meaſure to the aſſiſtance which they had promiſed him; now was the time to fulfil that promiſe, and to enable him to begin his military operations without delay."

THE States who knew the truth of what St. Aldegond had repreſented, and were ſenſible how much the ſucceſs of William's enterpriſe depended on his receiving an immediate ſupply, ſent him without delay a hundred thouſand florins, which they borrowed from the more wealthy citizens; and promiſed to ſend him more as ſoon as it could be raiſed, either from the ordinary taxes, or from the revenues of the monaſteries, which were at that time converted into a fund for carrying on the war. After this tranſaction, a ſolemn declaration in writing was delivered to St. Aldegond, in which they engaged to acknowledge the prince of Orange as the only lawful governor or ſtadtholder of the province;

vince; appointed him commander in chief of all their forces by sea and land; and engaged, that, without his consent, they should not listen to any terms of peace which might be offered: St. Aldegond, on the other hand, engaging in the name of the prince, that he would not lay down his arms, nor enter into any accommodation or treaty, without the knowledge and approbation of the States [t].

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Their distress.

THE States exerted themselves strenuously to perform their promises of supplies. They sent him two hundred thousand florins, which he received at Ruremonde, in his way to Mons, and gave him security for three hundred thousand. When the news were brought them of his retreat, and the necessity under which he found himself of disbanding his army, they were exceedingly dejected; and were filled with the most disquieting apprehensions, when they considered that the duke of Alva, having no enemy in the field to oppose his progress, was now at liberty to employ all his forces united, in taking vengeance on them, for their contempt of his authority.

Amsterdam adheres to the Spaniards.

THEIR distress was much increased by the inflexible obstinacy of the city of Amsterdam, in adhering to the Spanish interest; which did not proceed so much from the general inclination of the citizens, as from the care which the duke of Alva had taken to preserve the government of that city in the hands of the most rigid catholics. By an order of the States, Lumey count de la Marc had besieged it with a considerable body of troops; but after making some progress in his operations, he despaired of success, and suddenly raised the siege. He ascribed the miscarriage of his attempt to the negligence of the States, in supplying him with

[t] Meursii Auriacus, p. 84.

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provisions. The States, on the other hand, threw the blame entirely upon the count. They had been for some time past extremely dissatisfied with his conduct, on account of the cruelties which he had allowed his troops to exercise against the catholics; and they believed that they should never be able to persuade the people of Amsterdam to unite with the other cities in the province, while their army was under the command of a person who had rendered himself so exceedingly obnoxious [h].

Outrages committed by their troops.

LOUD complaints of the outrages of the soldiers were heard in every quarter, and many of the people began to lament the revolution to which they had given their consent. The States dreaded the consequences of so much ill humour. But they were not possessed of power sufficient to remedy the abuses complained of; and la Marc, who was naturally violent and ferocious, paid no regard to their commands. In this distress they had no resource, but in the prudence and authority of the prince of Orange; who, they hoped, would, notwithstanding his late misfortunes, be able to repress the insolence of the soldiers and their general. They sent him notice of the critical situation to which they were reduced; and they intreated him to come, as soon as possible, to take the government of the province, and the command of the forces, into his own hand.

Arrival of the prince of Orange in Holland.

WILLIAM could not, either with safety or honour, have left his army sooner than he did. From Orsoy, where it was disbanded, he went, attended only by his own domestics, and a company of horse, to Campen in Overyssel, and from thence he passed over the Zuider Sea to Enchuysen; where he was joyfully received, and all his directions for the greater security of the place, were carried

[h] Meurfii Auriacus, p. 95.

immediately into execution. After ſtaying there for ſome days, and viſiting the other towns in the province, he ſet out for Haerlem; having appointed a convention of the States to be held in that city, to conſider of the preſent ſituation of their affairs.

His magnanimity.

His arrival excited in perſons of all ranks the moſt unfeigned joy; but this joy, he perceived, was greatly allayed by their apprehenſions of being unable to reſiſt an enemy, before whom he himſelf, at the head of a powerful army, had been obliged to retire. The firſt object of his attention was to raiſe their drooping ſpirits, by making them ſenſible of the advantages which they poſſeſſed in the nature and ſituation of their country; which, while they retained their ſuperiority at ſea, and acted in concert, would render abortive all the attempts of the Spaniards to reduce them. The magnanimity which he diſplayed diffuſed itſelf into every breaſt; and the deputies unanimouſly declared, that they would be entirely governed by his counſel in all their conduct, and would lay down their lives ſooner than abandon that invaluable liberty, without which they thought life itſelf was not deſirable.

His moderation, and ſalutary regulations.

In the preſent temper of their minds, William might have ruled the people of the maritime provinces with an abſolute ſway; but he knew there was a much ſafer, as well as a more effectual, method of exerciſing power, and wiſely reſolved to conſult the States in every matter of importance, and to take upon himſelf only the execution of their commands. For this purpoſe he frequently convened them; and in order to give greater weight to their deciſions, he perſuaded them to admit into their number the deputies of twelve other cities, beſides thoſe of whom their aſſembly had been hitherto compoſed: a meaſure which was no leſs

gracious

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gracious and popular, than it was wiſe and prudent. It flattered the vanity of thoſe towns on which the new privilege was beſtowed; engaged them to contribute with greater alacrity their ſhare of the public expences; and drew the ſeveral diſtricts of the province into a ſtate of more intimate union with one another.

WITH the States, thus increaſed in number, the prince applied himſelf to rectify the diſorders which had prevailed, and to put the province into a poſture of defence againſt the Spaniards. It had been deſerted during the late commotions by many of the principal inhabitants, by ſeveral members of the courts of juſtice, and by the officers of the revenue, and others who held public employments; which they had been induced to abandon, either by their attachment to popery, or the diffidence in the duration and ſtability of the preſent government. The numerous vacancies which were thus occaſioned, were ſupplied with proteſtants; and no catholic was admitted into any office, or allowed to take any concern in the adminiſtration of public affairs.

Eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion.

THE exerciſe of the Romiſh religion was prohibited in the churches; and the only worſhip permitted to be exerciſed publicly, was the proteſtant, as taught by Calvin, and practiſed in Geneva, and the Palatinate. Thus far the prince of Orange complied with the inclination of the people, by a great majority of whom the principles of the reformers had been embraced. But all perſecution on account of religion, he diſcouraged to the utmoſt of his power. His reaſonings for toleration were more ſucceſsful now in favour of the papiſts, than they had been formerly with the dutcheſs of Parma, in behalf of the reformers. The States, by his perſuaſion, reſolved that no perſon whatever ſhould be moleſted on account of his religion, provided that he lived quietly,

kept

kept no correſpondence with the Spaniards, and gave no diſturbance to the eſtabliſhed mode of worſhip [1].

WILLIAM found greater difficulty in reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the army, than in ſettling either the courts of juſtice or the church. When we reflect on thoſe horrid ſcenes which were exhibited in the Netherlands by the duke of Alva and his aſſociates, it will not appear ſurpriſing, that the proteſtants ſhould have conceived the moſt violent animoſity againſt their bloody perſecutors. They had ſeen their deareſt relations and friends, beſides many perſons whom they revered on account of the innocence and ſanctity of their lives, treated like the moſt flagitious malefactors: and many of themſelves had, in order to avoid the ſame fate, been obliged to abandon their habitations, and to wander from place to place, forlorn and indigent. In the bitterneſs of their diſtreſs, they had forgotten the ſpirit of that religion for which they ſuffered; and on many occaſions, wrecked their vengeance againſt their enemies with a brutal fury. To the Spaniards who were taken priſoners at ſea, the proteſtants on board the fleet gave no quarter; while the eccleſiaſtics, and many others whoſe only crime was their adherence to the religion of their anceſtors, were treated by the proteſtant ſoldiers with equal inhumanity.

THE count of la Marc, commander in chief of the forces, was ſo far from oppoſing theſe enormities, that he encouraged his ſoldiers in committing them. This nobleman's principal virtue was intrepidity, and under the cloak of zeal for liberty, and the reformed religion, he ſeems to have intended nothing ſo much as the gratification of his avarice or revenge. The prince of Orange who, from his natural humanity, and a prudent regard to future

Lumey de la Marc.

[1] Grotius, p. 41.

conſequences,

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conſequences, was utterly averſe to every ſpecies of violence, attempted to make him ſenſible of the folly and iniquity of his conduct. But finding that he was not likely to ſucceed, and that the ſoldiers ſtill indulged themſelves without controul in their wonted exceſſes, he referred the matter to the cognizance of the States, and deſired them to conſider coolly what was proper to be done. The States, who were highly incenſed againſt the count, for his contempt of their authority, deprived him of his command, and ordered him to be apprehended. William, unwilling to forget the ſervices which the count had performed in the beginning of the revolt, ſoon after interpoſed in his behalf, and prevailed upon the States to releaſe him. But la Marc could not digeſt the affront which had been offered him. He complained loudly of the States for their ingratitude; boaſted of his authority in the fleet and army, and attempted to excite a ſpirit of ſedition among the people. The States were meditating to ſeize him a ſecond time, in order to bring him to his trial. But the prince of Orange, prompted by tenderneſs for his relations, and a ſenſe of his former ſervices, diſſuaded them from executing their deſign, and adviſed them to ſuffer him to leave the province. The States liſtened, though with ſome reluctance, to this advice, and the count having left the Netherlands, died ſoon afterwards in the city of Liege.

THE command of the forces was conferred on the count of Battenburg, by whom they were brought under proper diſcipline; and all ſuch of the catholics as choſe to remain in the country, delivered from thoſe alarms and apprehenſions with which they had been hitherto diſquieted. One cauſe of the great irregularities which had been committed by the troops, was the want

want of proper funds for their ſubſiſtence. The States now ſupplied this defect, as well as the preſent circumſtances of the province would allow. To the payment of the army, and other public purpoſes, they appropriated the demeſnes which the king had enjoyed as count of Holland, the revenues of the Romiſh prieſts and monaſteries, and the eſtates of all ſuch catholics as had gone over to the enemy, beſides a certain proportion of the captures made at ſea[k].

Progreſs of the Spaniſh arms.

WHILE the prince of Orange and the States were thus employed in providing for the ſecurity of Holland, Frederic de Toledo had made rapid progreſs in reducing the towns which had revolted in the other provinces; nor did he find much difficulty in ſubduing them; for ſo great was the terror which they had conceived from his late ſucceſs, that of all the towns which had declared for the prince of Orange in Groningen, Overyſſel, Utrecht, and Frieſland, there was none that did not ſend ambaſſadors to Toledo, to deprecate his vengeance, and to make profeſſion of unreſerved ſubmiſſion to his will. He placed garriſons in the moſt conſiderable towns, and inflicted no other puniſhment upon the people but pecuniary fines. Had he maintained the ſame moderation in his conduct afterwards, he would not perhaps have encountered much greater difficulty in the recovery of ſome of the towns of Holland and Zealand, than he had met with in recovering thoſe of the interior provinces; but from natural temper, he rejoiced infinitely more in rigour and ſeverity, than in lenity and moderation; of the truth of which he gave a ſignal proof in his barbarous treatment of the inhabitants of Naerden.

Maſſacre of the people of Naerden.

THIS town was then neither large nor ſtrongly fortified, yet the citizens, prompted by ſome foreign proteſtants who reſided

[k] Grotius, p. 40. Meurſii Auriacus, p. 97.

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in it, were bold enough to refuſe admittance to a company of horſe, ſent by Toledo before his main army, to require their ſubmiſſion; but, having quickly repented of their raſhneſs, they diſpatched a deputation of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants, among whom was Lambertus Hortenſius, a man eminent for his learning, to Amersfort, where Toledo had arrived in his way to Naerden. He declined hearing the ambaſſadors himſelf, and deſired them to apply to Julio Romero, who had power, he ſaid, to grant them ſuch terms of reconcilement as *he* ſhould judge to be reaſonable. By Romero it was agreed, that the lives and fortunes of the citizens ſhould be ſpared on the following conditions: That the town ſhould be immediately delivered into the hands of Toledo; that all the inhabitants ſhould renew their oath of allegiance to the king; and that one hundred Spaniſh ſoldiers ſhould be permitted to ſeize as much booty as they could carry at one time out of the city. In ratification of this agreement, Romero, having given his right hand three ſeveral times to Hortenſius, entered the town, attended by ſo ſmall a number of Spaniards as baniſhed from the minds of the citizens all apprehenſions of fraud or violence; and when he ſummoned them to meet in one of the churches to take the oath of allegiance, they ran thither unarmed, and preſented themſelves a defenceleſs prey to their bloody murderers. Whether Romero acted in concert with Toledo does not appear from the cotemporary hiſtorians. This only is certain, that while the former was employed in adminiſtering the oath; the latter, who had brought forward his troops to the gates of the town, led them directly to the church in which the citizens were aſſembled, and ordering the doors which till then had been kept ſhut to be thrown open, he ruſhed into it at the head of his troops, and immediately killed with his own hand

hand the principal magiſtrate. The Spaniards were not backward to imitate the example of their general. They fell with ſavage fury on the aſtoniſhed, defenceleſs citizens, and after butchering all that were in the church, ſpread themſelves over the city, and put every perſon whom they met to the ſword. They made no diſtinction between the innocent and the guilty; the catholics, as well as proteſtants; thoſe who had preſerved their allegiance, as well as thoſe who had thrown it off, were all involved in one promiſcuous ruin. The ſoldiers then entering into the houſes, where they found the wives and daughters of the ſlain overwhelmed with anguiſh, inſtead of being ſoftened by the ſight of ſo much unmerited diſtreſs in that tender ſex, their ſavage hearts only prompted them to indulge their avarice, their cruelty, and their luſt. Even virgins under age they violated, and others they tortured in the moſt inhuman manner, either from a wanton pleaſure which they took in cruel deeds, or to extort from the unhappy ſufferers a diſcovery of the treaſure which had belonged to their murdered huſbands or parents. They ſtrangled ſome, embrued their hands in the blood of others, turned all the reſt of the city into the open fields, and then throwing fire into the houſes, reduced the town to aſhes.

THE accounts tranſmitted to us by the proteſtant writers of the horrid cruelty which the Spaniards exerciſed on this occaſion, would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the catholic hiſtorians. There was an hoſpital in the town for old men, and at that time there were ſeveral in it above eighty years of age; even theſe were butchered; nor did perſons confined to the bed of ſickneſs and diſtreſs eſcape their fury. The life of Lambertus Hortenſius was ſaved by the interpoſition of the count de Boſſut; but the Spaniards made him ſuffer what was worſe than death; by

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murdering the ſon, and tearing his heart out of his body before the father's eyes. There is another inſtance of their cruelty recorded, which is, if poſſible, ſtill more inhuman. After having tortured in the moſt ſhocking manner one of the citizens, to make him diſcover where he had concealed his wealth, they diſhonoured his wife in his preſence, and upon his reproaching them with their barbarity, they put him to death; then, having tied the woman's hands behind her, they bound her by the feet to a beam of the houſe, with her head downward, and left her to die in that poſture, with her little ſon, whom they likewiſe bound and placed beſide her, to aggravate the miſery of that dreadful death to which their cruelty had doomed her [1].

From this horrid maſſacre, Toledo led his army to Amſterdam, where he remained for ſome time in expectation that, from the dread of his vengeance, the other towns of the province would be induced to make a tender of their ſubmiſſion; but the cruelty and treachery which he had exerciſed at Naerden, were not more contrary to the laws of religion and humanity, than inconſiſtent with the maxims of ſound policy, and were calculated not ſo much to excite terror as revenge and indignation. From the fate of Naerden, the people were convinced, that there was at leaſt as much to be dreaded from ſubmiſſion as from reſiſtance, and they thought it no leſs abſurd than dangerous, to enter into terms of agreement with men who had ſhewn themſelves ſo cruelly perfidious.

Siege of Haerlem.

Of this they ſoon gave a conſpicuous proof in their vigorous and obſtinate defence of Haerlem. To gain over the inhabitants of that city, Toledo had employed the mediation of the catho-

[1] Meurſii Auriacus, p. 98. Thuani, lib. liv. Bentivoglio, p. 115.

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lics of Amſterdam, and ſome of the magiſtrates of Haerlem had ſent privately three of their number to Frederic to treat with him of a ſurrender. This was no ſooner known than Riperda, a Frieſland gentleman, to whom the prince of Orange had committed the government of the town, called together the principal inhabitants, and informed them of what had paſſed. "By a ſolemn oath," ſaid he, "the magiſtrates were lately bound not to liſten, without your permiſſion, to any propoſals, or to engage in any deſign or enterpriſe, by which the general intereſt of the city might be affected; yet, not only without your permiſſion, but even without your knowledge, they have ſent an embaſſy to treat with Toledo about delivering the city to the Spaniards. We are unable, they pretend, to withſtand ſo great a force as will be brought againſt us, and muſt be involved in all the miſeries of a cruel ſiege, unleſs we avert them by a timely application for peace and pardon. But have the Spaniards treated with greater lenity thoſe who have truſted to their faith, than thoſe who have oppoſed them? Have the people of Mechlin and Zutphen been dealt with more mercifully than thoſe of Mons? Does not the melancholy fate of Naerden ſufficiently inſtruct you how little regard is due to the promiſes of thoſe men, who have now ſhewn themſelves no leſs devoid of faith than we have ever found them of humanity? Are not the ſtreets of that unhappy city ſtill reeking with the blood of thoſe who confided in the faith and mercy of the Spaniards? By ſtanding on our defence we may elude their fury; but if we receive them into the city, we ruſh headlong upon deſtruction. They will either butcher us like ſheep, after they have ſtripped us of our arms, or reduce us to a ſtate of ignominious ſlavery and bondage. Do not flatter yourſelves with the hopes that they are willing to be reconciled.

Riperda's ſpeech.

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reconciled to you. They intend only to take advantage of your ſimplicity, and to get you into their power, without expoſing themſelves to danger. Have you not all already ſworn to act the part to which I now exhort you, to defend your walls againſt the Spaniards, and to preſerve your allegiance to the prince of Orange, whom you have acknowledged as the only lawful governor of the province? And in order to ſave ourſelves from the hardſhips of a ſiege, ſhall we imitate that vile example of treachery, which in our enemies appears ſo odious? Let us derive courage, my friends, from the juſtneſs of our cauſe; and rather than ſubmit to ſuch an enemy, let us reſolve to die, fighting glorioufly in defence of our religion, our liberty, and laws."

THIS ſpeech was received with ſhouts of high applauſe by all the audience. They cried out with one voice; "No peace with the Spaniards; we will ſhed the laſt drop of our blood, rather than open our gates to ſo perfidious an enemy." Riperda then ſent information to the prince of Orange, who was at this time in Delft, of the reſolution which they had formed. And in return, William encouraged the citizens to perſevere, by aſſuring them that the other cities in the province would exert themſelves with vigour in their behalf. Immediately after which he reinforced the garriſon with four companies of Germans; and ſent St. Aldegond with a commiſſion to put the adminiſtration of the town in the hands of ſuch as were ſincerely attached to the reformed religion. Of the three ambaſſadors who had treated with the Spaniards, one remained with Toledo, and the other two were, upon their return to Haerlem, put under arreſt, and ſent to Delft, where, after being tried, they were condemned as traitors. One of them died in priſon, and the other was executed publickly: an inſtance of ſeverity, with which the prince of Orange was not diſpleaſed, as

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it tended to deter the catholics in the other cities, from holding correſpondence with the enemy. 1572.

THE news of theſe unexpected events excited, in the fiery tempers of Toledo, and his father, the higheſt degree of wrath and indignation. They immediately gave orders for the march of the troops to Haerlem, and exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly in making preparations for carrying on the ſiege with diſpatch and vigour.

Deſcription of Haerlem.

HAERLEM was, at the time of this memorable ſiege, the moſt conſiderable town in Holland, next to Amſterdam. It was ſurrounded with a deep ditch and a ſtrong wall, but was of ſo great extent, that it required a numerous garriſon to defend it. It ſtands beautifully in the midſt of an extenſive plain, having a wood on one ſide, and a branch of the river Sparen on the other; and the other branch of that river paſſes through the town, and then falls into the lake, or as it is ſometimes called, the ſea of Haerlem. Amſterdam and Leyden are nearly at the diſtance of between three and four leagues from it; the former lying towards the eaſt, and the latter towards the ſouth. From Amſterdam and Utrecht, Toledo propoſed to furniſh his army with proviſions; and the people of Haerlem expected to derive the ſame advantage from the neighbourhood of Leyden; where, in order to aſſiſt them more effectually, the prince of Orange now fixed his reſidence.

THE neareſt way by which the Spaniſh army could approach to Haerlem, was by the fort of Sparendam, the rampart of which ſtood on the dike along which the troops muſt paſs. In this fort Riperda had placed a garriſon of three hundred men, and had begun to employ the country people in breaking down the dike, in order to lay the country under water. But the froſt having ſet

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in with uncommon ſeverity, rendered all their labour fruitleſs, and gave the Spaniards eaſy acceſs to the fort. The garriſon made a vigorous reſiſtance for ſome time; but being attacked on every ſide, and overpowered by ſuperior numbers, they were at length compelled to retire to Haerlem.

Toledo begins the ſiege.

TOLEDO followed ſoon after with his army, which conſiſted of between twelve and thirteen thouſand men; ſix thouſand of whom were natives of Spain, and the reſt Walloons and Germans. He had juſt begun to aſſign them their ſeveral ſtations, when he received intelligence that a body of troops, amounting to near three thouſand men, with cannon and proviſions, were upon their march from Leyden, with an intention to enter Haerlem, before the blockade was formed. He ſet out immediately to intercept them, and had the good fortune, during a fall of ſnow, to come upon them unawares, near the village of Berkenrode. His troops being greatly ſuperior in number to the enemy, broke their ranks at the firſt onſet, and having killed between ſix and ſeven hundred, put the reſt to flight. Their officers endeavoured to rally them, but in vain. They fled precipitately, and left their cannon and proviſions a prey to the victorious army.

Progreſs of the ſiege.

FLUSHED with this ſucceſs, Toledo returned immediately to the ſiege. Having ſtationed the Walloons and Germans on the great road which leads to Leyden, he himſelf with the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of an hoſpital, which lay near the gate of the croſs. At this place he reſolved to begin his operations, although the gate was covered by a ſtrong ravelin, and the wall on that ſide could be more eaſily defended than in any other quarter. Into this blunder he was betrayed, not ſo much by ignorance or inadvertence, as by the contempt which he entertained for the beſieged.

ſieged. After the ſucceſs with which his arms had every where been attended, he did not expect to meet with the ſmalleſt difficulty in his preſent enterpriſe; and flattered himſelf that Haerlem, like the other revolted cities, would, as ſoon as he ſhould begin his attack, open her gates to receive him. From the ſame preſumption, he neglected all the precautions which are uſually taken in ſieges; and, without opening trenches to cover his men from the enemy's fire, he planted his battery and began to cannonade the gate and ravelin. He had no ſooner made a breach, than he reſolved to ſtorm it, and for this purpoſe ordered one hundred and fifty men to croſs the ditch, by means of a portable bridge. This detachment was ordered to return, in caſe the breach ſhould be found impracticable. But the reſt of the ſoldiers, who were not leſs confident of ſucceſs than their general, and were impelled by their avidity for plunder, without waiting for the word of command, ran forward to the bridge, and paſſed over it in great numbers. They ſoon perceived their error. The breach was not near ſo conſiderable as they had imagined, and their ſcaling ladders were too ſhort. The narrowneſs of the bridge, which permitted only three men to march a-breaſt, threw them into confuſion. They ſtood on the brink of the ditch, crowded together, and expoſed to the muſquetry as well as cannon of the beſieged. Still, however, the fooliſh ardor with which they were inſpired, made them unwilling to retire, till Romero, an officer whom they highly reſpected, advanced towards them, and reproached them with the madneſs of their attempt. "Do you not perceive, he cried, that the ſmallneſs of the breach renders your aſſault impracticable? Is this the diſcipline which you have learnt in the ſchool of the duke of Alva? Thus, without orders, to expoſe yourſelves a defenceleſs prey to theſe rebels, who inſult and

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butcher you, while they themſelves are out of the reach of danger? You will ſoon find an opportunity to take vengeance on them. At preſent it is not in your power." At length he perſuaded them to retire, but not till he himſelf was wounded, and near two hundred private men, and a great number of officers, had fallen.

THIS diſaſter ſerved to undeceive Toledo with regard to the facility of his enterpriſe; and he reſolved not to expoſe his troops to any further danger, till he ſhould be fully provided with every thing neceſſary for conducting the ſiege, with leſs expence of blood, and a better proſpect of ſucceſs. For this end, he gave the proper inſtructions to his agents in Utrecht and Amſterdam; but all the roads which led to his camp, were ſo much infeſted by the Hollanders, that a whole month elapſed before he was in a condition to renew his operations againſt the town.

Supplies ſent to the town over the ice.

THE prince of Orange was more ſucceſsful in his attempts to ſecure it. He could not indeed collect a ſufficient number of troops, either to raiſe the ſiege, or to force his way through the enemy's intrenchments. But the froſt having continued for ſeveral weeks, not only men, but even loaded carriages, could be conveyed over the lake with greater facility than by land. The reader need not be told with what agility the Hollanders tranſport themſelves from one place to another, over the ice, with ſcates. They exerted all their dexterity on this occaſion, and introduced into the city fifteen companies of ſoldiers, together with a great number of ſledges, loaded with proviſions and ammunition.

IN the mean time Toledo had prepared every thing requiſite for reſuming the operations of the ſiege; and he now haſtened to repair the faults which he had committed in the beginning; proceeding with greater caution than before, but with the ſame acti-

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vity and vigor. Having by trenches ſecured his troops againſt the fire of the beſiegers, he began to batter the town with his artillery; and at the ſame time employed his miners, of whom the duke of Alva had ſent him three thouſand from the biſhopric of Liege, in working mines, and ſapping the foundation of the walls. Neither labour nor danger was avoided. But the boldneſs and vigilance of the citizens and garriſon were in proportion to the means employed to ſubdue them. By countermines, they either prevented, or rendered ineffectual, the mines of the beſiegers; and no ſooner was a breach made in the fortifications, than ditches were dug, or ſome ſudden bulwark raiſed behind it, by which all acceſs was rendered as difficult as ever. Not ſatisfied with acting on the defenſive, they often ſallied out upon the beſiegers, deſtroyed their works, and fell upon them ſword in hand, when they were the leaſt prepared to repel their attacks.

WHILE the Spaniards were thus kept in perpetual occupation and anxiety, the prince of Orange laboured aſſiduouſly to increaſe their difficulties, by ſending out flying parties to intercept their convoys of proviſions. Some of theſe attempts proved ſucceſsful; and as they made it neceſſary for Toledo to ſend large detachments from his army to guard his convoys, they facilitated the introduction of ſupplies into Haerlem, and retarded the progreſs of the ſiege.

Uſeleſs cruelty exerciſed by both parties.

ALMOST all the ſupplies of the Spaniſh army came from Amſterdam, and there was but one road by which they could be conveyed. In order to take poſſeſſion of an important paſs on that road, the prince had ſent a detachment of troops under Antony le Peintre, who had a principal concern in the ſurpriſe of Mons. The catholics of Amſterdam having received information of this

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deſign, diſpatched a number of forces, ſufficient not only to ſecure the paſs, but to engage with the enemy. The two parties came to blows; the proteſtants were routed, and many of them ſlain; among whom was le Peintre their commander. In deriſion of the beſieged, the Spaniards having cut off the heads of le Peintre, and of another officer killed in that rencounter, whoſe name was Coning or King, they threw them over the walls into the city, with an inſcription tied to the head of Coning, which bore, beſides his name, upon which they jeſted aukwardly, that he was come with two thouſand auxiliaries to raiſe the ſiege. Of this inſult the Haerlemeſe ſhewed their reſentment, by an action equally barbarous. They beheaded twelve of their Spaniſh priſoners; and then put all their heads into a caſk, which they rolled down into the trenches, after writing upon it, "The tax of the tenth penny to the duke of Alva, with the intereſt due to him on account of the delay of payment." In revenge for this barbarity, the Spaniards hung up by the feet and neck, a number of priſoners, in ſight of the beſieged; who, in return, put to death ſome more of *their* priſoners, in the ſame ignominious manner, in the view of the Spaniards. Such inſtances of barbarous and uſeleſs cruelty were often practiſed in the beginning of the preſent war; nor were they diſcontinued, till the duke of Alva and his ſon, who by their example contributed much to the ſpreading of this ſavage ſpirit, had left the Netherlands.

Toledo aſſaults the town.

THE operations of the ſiege were in the mean time carried on by Toledo with as much celerity, as the difficulty under which he laboured in furniſhing himſelf with proviſions, and the numberleſs diſeaſes which the ſeverity of the ſeaſon occaſioned among his troops, would allow. By undermining the ravelin which defended the gate of the croſs, he obliged the garriſon to abandon it; and after

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after a cannonading, which had laſted for many days, by which he laid a great part of the wall in ruins, he at laſt reſolved to ſtorm the breach with all his forces. For this purpoſe he drew them together from their ſeveral ſtations in the night; and that he might find the beſieged unprepared, he began the aſſault before day-break. No precaution was neglected to inſure ſucceſs. The orders were explained to all the ſoldiers, particularly and diſtinctly. Each man had his ſtation and part aſſigned him. Some were appointed to ſtand at a proper diſtance from the walls, to annoy the enemy in caſe they ſhould appear; and thoſe who were deſtined for the aſſault were enjoined to obſerve the moſt profound ſilence, till they ſhould make themſelves maſters of the breach. So well was this laſt injunction obſerved, that ſeveral of the Spaniards had mounted the breach, and even ſcaled the walls, before the beſieged were appriſed of their approach. But when they had advanced thus far, they were perceived by the guards, who immediately ſounded the alarm, and tumbled them all headlong, before they had time to put themſelves into a poſture of defence.

Is repulſed.

THIS aſſault was made near the ravelin of which the Spaniards had got poſſeſſion ſome days before; and in order to ſecond the aſſailants, many Spaniſh officers and ſoldiers were ſtanding upon the ravelin, and a great number round it. The townſmen having reſolved to render this fortification uſeleſs to the enemy, had wrought a mine under it, and lodged there a quantity of gunpowder, and other combuſtible materials. They ſaw with joy, and ſeized inſtantly, the opportunity preſented to them, of executing their purpoſe with ſignal damage to the enemy. A part of the ravelin, with the ground adjoining to it, was blown up; and many of the Spaniards periſhed. The reſt of the army ſtood aghaſt at this unforeſeen diſaſter. The citizens left them no leiſure

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to recover from their aſtoniſhment, but ruſhed out impetuouſly, attacked them with irreſiſtible fury, and compelled them to retire with the loſs of a great number of officers, and upwards of three hundred private men.

He meditates the raiſing of the ſiege.

THE failure of this attempt, in which Toledo had exerted his utmoſt force and ſkill, gave him great anxiety with regard to the iſſue of the ſiege; and ſome of the principal officers adviſed him to raiſe it without delay. "All the miſeries of a ſiege," they ſaid, "were felt more by the royal army, than by the rebels who were beſieged. Through the difficult communication between the camp and Amſterdam, the troops laboured under a perpetual ſcarcity of proviſions; and ſuffered more from the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, than from the ſword of the enemy. They would either never be able to take the place, or it would coſt them infinitely more than it was worth. In the end, the conquerors would find themſelves in as deplorable a condition as the conquered; and no army would remain, ſufficient to ſubdue the other cities which had rebelled."

THIS opinion was warmly oppoſed by other officers, who repreſented, That their ſucceſs in the further proſecution of the war, would depend on the iſſue of the preſent ſiege. "If we raiſe it," ſaid they, "we ſhall confirm all the other cities in their obſtinacy; if we perſevere, we ſhall render eaſier every future enterpriſe. The ſeaſon cannot remain long in its preſent ſeverity. One night may diſſolve the ice, of which our enemies have ſo often availed themſelves. Our loſs of men will be ſpeedily repaired by the levies which are making in the Netherlands, and by the troops which we expect from Spain. We ſhall ſoon be able to cut off the town from all communication with the other revolted cities; and

and when we have done this, can we doubt that the beſieged will open their gates and throw themſelves upon our mercy?"

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Alva's letter to his ſon.

BETWEEN theſe oppoſite opinions Toledo would not take upon himſelf to decide, but referred the matter to the duke, whoſe anſwer, carrying in it the appearance of authority more than of counſel, ſhewed that he was not a little diſſatisfied with his ſon for deliberating on the ſubject. "You muſt proſecute the ſiege," ſaid Alva, in the letter which he wrote to him, "till you bring it to the deſired iſſue; unleſs you would prove yourſelf unworthy of the name you bear, of the blood from which you are ſprung, and of the command with which I have intruſted you. The more difficult this enterpriſe, the greater glory may you derive from it. In a ſiege of ſuch importance as the preſent, you ought not to conſider the number of days which it detains you, but the conſequences with which your ſucceſs or failure will be attended. You muſt now endeavour to effectuate by famine, what you have been unable to accompliſh by the ſword. You muſt blockade the town, inſtead of ſtorming it; and you will be enabled to render the blockade complete, by the reinforcement which will ſoon be ſent you. But if ſtill you ſhall entertain thoughts of abandoning your enterpriſe, I will either come myſelf to the camp, ſick as I am; or if my increaſing illneſs ſhall prevent me, I will ſend for the ducheſs of Alva to command the army, rather than ſuffer it to withdraw."

FREDERIC was ſtung with this reproach, and reſolved to proſecute the ſiege, regardleſs of all the difficulties and dangers which had induced him to deliberate. He proceeded ſlowly, however, on account of his want of a ſufficient number of troops to form the blockade; when, about the middle of February,

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bruary, the froſt went off, and changed entirely the operations of the contending parties.

Battle on the lake.

THE prince of Orange had not neglected to provide for this event. A great number of veſſels had been prepared, and as ſoon as the ice was melted, and the wind favourable, they left Leyden with a large ſupply of proviſions; and ſailing along the lake, entered into the Sparen, and got ſafe to Haerlem. In this way the beſieged were frequently ſupplied; nor could the Spaniards for ſome time procure a naval force ſufficient to prevent it. At laſt the count de Boſſut, aſſiſted by the people of Amſterdam, collected a great number of armed veſſels with which he made his appearance on the lake. And thus the ſcene was almoſt entirely changed, and the operations of the ſiege converted, for ſeveral weeks, into the various rencounters which paſſed between the fleets; while the one party laboured to introduce ſupplies into the city, and the other was continually on the watch to intercept them. At firſt the actions were ſlight and unimportant, but at length the number of ſhips on both ſides being greatly augmented, they came to a general engagement; in which, after much bloodſhed, victory declared againſt the proteſtants. In this action the count de Boſſut acquired great honour, and reduced the enemy's fleet to ſo low a pitch, that henceforth they could not venture with ſafety to come within his reach. He ſoon after made himſelf maſter of a fort in the mouth of the Sparen, and having ſtationed a part of the fleet there, he rendered all acceſs to the town by water utterly impracticable.

The vigor and intrepidity of the beſieged.

DURING theſe tranſactions on the lake, the townſmen and garriſon exerted the ſame activity and vigour as before. They gave the beſiegers no reſpite, but haraſſed them continually, by ſallying out

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out in ſtrong bodies, ſometimes in one quarter, and ſometimes in another. In one of theſe ſallies, they drove the German forces from their entrenchments, ſlew upwards of eight hundred of them, ſet on fire their tents and baggage, and carrying off a great number of cannon and military enſigns, returned to the town in triumph[m].

But Toledo was ſoon afterwards in a condition to prevent theſe eruptions, from which the beſieged derived ſo much glory. The reinforcement which his father had been preparing, at length arrived; and his trenches were thereby ſecured againſt any attack that could be made upon them, either from within, or from without.

Their diſtreſs.

The beſieged began to ſuffer greatly from a ſcarcity of proviſions. There was no expedient for relief, however deſperate, which they did not employ. They attempted frequently in the night, to force the enemy's lines, and to open a paſſage for the convoys, which, agreeably to concert, the prince of Orange ſent forward, to be ready to enter the town, in caſe the garriſon could diſlodge the beſiegers from their entrenchments. But they found the enemy every where prepared to receive them, and were repulſed in all their attempts. They had then recourſe to another no leſs deſperate expedient. They broke down the dike of the Sparen, and laid all the ground between the lake and the city under water. The Spaniards being obliged, in conſequence of this device, to quit the part of their entrenchments to which the water reached, ſome flat-bottomed boats paſſed into the town, with gun-powder and proviſions. But the relief which the beſieged received in this way was inconſiderable. Boſſut being abſolute

[m] Thuanus, tom. iii. p. 218.

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maſter of the lake, the paſſage by which the Hollanders had entered was ſoon blocked up, and all acceſs to the town rendered as difficult as ever.

Count Battenburg defeated.

THE people of Haerlem had now no proſpect of deliverance, but from a body of troops which the prince of Orange had for ſome months been employed in aſſembling, with a view to attempt the raiſing of the ſiege. He had ſolicited aid from the queen of England, and from the French and German proteſtants. But the former was averſe at this time to declaring herſelf openly againſt Philip; and both the latter were too much occupied at home, to have either leiſure or power to afford their brethren in Holland any effectual aſſiſtance. In the mean time, the famine in Haerlem had riſen to the moſt dreadful height. Every ſpecies of ordinary food was already conſumed; and the people ſubſiſted on the roots of the coarſeſt herbs, and on the fleſh of horſes, dogs, and other animals, againſt which men commonly entertain the moſt irreconcileable averſion. William having got information of the extremity to which they were reduced, reſolved to make an effort in their behalf, with the forces which he had already collected. They conſiſted partly of French, German, and Engliſh proteſtants, but chiefly of raw troops, which had been levied haſtily for the preſent purpoſe in the neighbouring cities; amounting to four thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe. He intended to have conducted this little army himſelf, but was prevailed on by the States to give the command of it to the count of Battenburg. Notice was conveyed to the beſieged of the time, when this armament would approach Haerlem, by letters tied to pigeons, which had been brought from Haerlem to Leyden, in order to be employed

ployed as meſſengers to the beſieged, in caſe all other communication between the cities ſhould be obſtructed [a].

BATTENBURG ſet out from Leyden with his troops, ſeveral field pieces, and a large convoy of proviſions, in the beginning of July. His inſtructions were, to direct his attack againſt the quarters of the Germans ſtationed towards the plain of Haerlem. The beſieged, it was expected, would ſally out upon them at the ſame time, and while they were thus diſtracted by one enemy before, and another behind them, it was hoped that the convoy of proviſions would find an opportunity of entering the town. But Toledo having received intelligence of their deſign, drew up a part of his forces within their entrenchments, to repreſs the ſally intended by the beſieged, and led out the reſt to meet count Battenburg. His troops being greatly ſuperior to the enemy both in diſcipline and number, broke their ranks, and threw them into confuſion at the firſt onſet. The general, and upwards of two thouſand men, were killed; and almoſt the whole convoy of proviſions fell into the hands of the victors.

THIS diſaſter entirely broke the ſpirits of the beſieged, and made it neceſſary for them to propoſe a ſurrender without delay. They accordingly ſent a deputation to Toledo, with an offer to deliver up the town, on condition that the inhabitants ſhould not be pillaged, and that the garriſon ſhould be allowed to march out of it, with the honours of war. Toledo refuſed to liſten to theſe, or any other conditions; and informed them that they muſt leave it to him to determine, what treatment both the garriſon and citizens ſhould receive.

The beſieged offer to capitulate.

His anſwer.

[a] Thuanus, lib. lv. c. v.

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THE beſieged were too well acquainted with his implacable ſpirit, not to ſhrink at the thoughts of expoſing themſelves to his mercy. They had not forgotten the diſmal cataſtrophe of Naerden. They conſidered his anſwer as a declaration, that he had devoted them to deſtruction. The people ran in crowds from every quarter of the city, to the places of public reſort, in order to learn the particulars of that fatal anſwer which the deputies had brought. The women, the aged, and all the more unwarlike part of the inhabitants, were overwhelmed with terror. As if their houſes had been already in flames, or as if they had beheld the bloody ſword of the Spaniard waving round them, there was nothing to be ſeen or heard, but tears, and ſhrieks, and groans. Their deſpair was ſoon afterwards converted into a degree of madneſs, by a reſolution formed by the governor and garriſon, to leave all ſuch as were unable to bear arms behind them, and to force their way, ſword in hand, through the enemy's lines. To prevent them from executing their purpoſe, the women haſtened tumultuouſly (many of them with their children in their arms) to the gate where the garriſon had appointed to rendezvous before their departure. It was a ſcene truly piteous and miſerable; the women either rolling in the duſt, or clinging round the necks and knees of their huſbands, fathers, ſons, or brothers; diſſolved in tears, and imploring that they might be carried along with them, and ſuffered either to eſcape or periſh together. The men were melted at the ſight of ſo much anguiſh in perſons ſo near and dear to them, and yielded at laſt to their entreaties. It was then agreed, that one half of all the military in the town ſhould march in the front, the other half in the rear, and the women, children, and others unable to bear arms, in the middle between them. Drawn up in this form, they reſolved to attempt a paſſage with their ſwords through the ene-

my's entrenchments. They knew it to be impoſſible, but that moſt of them muſt periſh. "But if we open our gates to the Spaniards," ſaid Riperda, "muſt we not likewiſe periſh? And if we muſt die (though ſtill it is poſſible we may eſcape), is it not better to die fighting bravely in the field; we who have exerted ourſelves ſo ſtrenuouſly in defence of our religion and liberty; than, after being ſtript of our arms, and bound like criminals, to receive an ignominious death upon a ſcaffold, or in a dungeon, from the hands of an ungenerous and unrelenting enemy?"

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THEY were upon the point of putting their deſign in execution, when intelligence of it was carried to Toledo. He conſidered, that if they were not diverted from it, he ſhould, in conſequence of his victory, inſtead of a great and important city, acquire poſſeſſion only of a deſolated ruin. He reflected too on the danger to which his troops might be expoſed, from the fury of ſo many brave men animated by deſpair and vengeance; and therefore, without delay, he ſent a trumpet to the beſieged, to give them hopes of favour and forgiveneſs. There was a violent ſtruggle in their minds for ſome time between their fears, and the hopes with which he thus inſpired them. But from their knowledge of his character, their diſtruſt and diffidence prevailed; and they refuſed to hearken to his propoſal, till he engaged, that, on condition of their paying two hundred thouſand livres, the army ſhould be reſtrained from plundering the inhabitants, and that all of them, except fifty-ſeven, whom he named, ſhould receive a full pardon of their offences.

Toledo offers more favourable terms.

THIS exception of ſo great a number of citizens, who were the moſt conſiderable perſons in the town, and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their bravery in its defence, would have prevented the accommodation

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accommodation from taking place, had not the German part of the garriſon urged in the moſt determined manner, that the conditions offered ſhould be accepted. The Walloons, on the other hand, and the Dutch, were extremely reluctant and averſe; becauſe, as they were more obnoxious than the Germans, they believed that no mercy would be ſhewn them. The garriſon being thus divided in their ſentiments, and many of them having, with a view to make their eſcape, ſecretly withdrawn from their ſtations on the walls, the inhabitants began to dread that the Spaniards, obſerving them grown more remiſs than formerly, might take the town by ſtorm; and therefore, without further delay, they ſent a deputation of their number, to make the ſurrender on the terms propoſed.

The ſurrender.

A REGIMENT of Spaniards was immediately ſent to take poſſeſſion of the place. All perſons, whether inhabitants or foreign ſoldiers, were ordered to lay down their arms. The citizens were commanded to retire into certain churches, and the garriſon to certain monaſteries, where guards were placed over them, to prevent their eſcape. On the ſame day, Toledo entered the town with the Spaniſh troops. In order to induce the foreign ſoldiers, of whom the garriſon chiefly conſiſted, to concur with the inhabitants in the ſurrender, Toledo had given them particular aſſurances of ſafety. And although they were ſtrictly guarded, and not ſuffered to depart, yet bread had been diſtributed to *them* as well as to the citizens; and no violence was offered them till the third day, when the duke of Alva, who had recovered from his illneſs, came to Haerlem, on pretence of viſiting the fortifications, but in reality to inſtruct his ſon with regard to his treatment of the priſoners.

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IT

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1573. The perfidious cruelty of Alva and his ſon.

IT was then, but too late, that this brave, though now defenceleſs garriſon repented of having ſo tamely delivered up their arms; and ſaw the folly of truſting in the mercy of an ungenerous enemy, whoſe revenge and hatred were implacable. A maſſacre, which had been concerted in the interview between the father and ſon, was begun, by putting to death three hundred Walloons. At the ſame time, the brave Riperda, and other perſons of note were beheaded. But the ſlaughter ſtopt not here. Several hundreds of French, Scotch, and Engliſh ſoldiers, beſides a conſiderable number of the citizens who had been ſeized in attempting to make their eſcape, were likewiſe butchered; and when the executioners were tired with ſlaughtering, they tied the unhappy victims two by two, and plunged them into the river. Even the ſick and wounded were carried out itno the court-yard of the hoſpital where they lay, and put to the ſword.

HISTORIANS differ as to the number of thoſe who were involved in this diſmal cataſtrophe; and it is remarkable that ſome of the Spaniſh writers make it greater than the Dutch. By the loweſt account, nine hundred brave men were executed like the vileſt malefactors, who, truſting to Toledo's promiſe, had given up their arms, and thrown themſelves upon his mercy.

Conſequences of the vigorous defence of Haerlem.

IT would ſhock the reader's humanity to offer any excuſe for ſuch inhuman cruelty; yet it muſt not be denied that Alva had ample matter of chagrin, when he conſidered how much the length of the ſiege, and the obſtinate valour of the beſieged had coſt him. By the inclemency of the ſeaſon, by the ſcarcity of proviſions, and by the ſword of the enemy, he had loſt four thouſand five hundred men; beſides a great number whom their diſeaſes or wounds rendered unfit for ſervice. Nor was the diminution of his forces the

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only loſs which he ſuſtained from this ſiege. It was attended with an expence, by which his treaſury was exhauſted. It ſunk conſiderably the reputation of his arms; and inſpired the inſurgents with hopes, that an enemy, who had found it ſo difficult to conquer, might themſelves be overcome. It afforded leiſure to the other revolted cities to ſettle their affairs, and furniſhed them with the happieſt opportunity of carrying on their conqueſts in Zealand, where the city of Middleburg ſtill remained in the hands of the Spaniards [a].

Mutiny of the Spaniſh troops.

Of the ſeveral inconveniencies which the duke of Alva ſuffered from the length of the ſiege, the draining of his treaſury was not the leaſt conſiderable; as it occaſioned his falling behind in the payment of his troops, and rendered abortive all the ſucceeding operations of the campaign. He intended that they ſhould have gone from Haerlem into North Holland, to ſecure the town of Alcmaer. But when orders were given for their march, they refuſed to obey. They had been greatly exaſperated by the conditions granted to the people of Haerlem, becauſe they were thereby diſappointed in their hopes of plunder; and they reſolved to make Toledo feel their reſentment, by inſiſting on the immediate payment of their arrears. He repreſented to them the prejudice which the king's intereſt would ſuffer from their remaining inactive at the preſent criſis. But the more they perceived their importance, the higher was the gratification of their reſentment. Without regard either to Toledo's remonſtrances, or to the terms on which Haerlem had been ſurrendered, they fixed their quarters in that city; laid the citizens, already exhauſted by their ſufferings, under contribution, and exerciſed over them the ſame tyran-

[a] Bentivoglio, p. 117. Meteren, p. 110. Meurſii Auriacus, lib. viii.

nical

nical oppreſſion, as if they had taken the town by ſtorm: thus demonſtrating to the inhabitants of the other cities, the abſurdity of ſubmitting to the Spaniards, whatever conditions might be offered; ſince, even when their commanders were willing to obſerve theſe conditions, they were violated by the ſoldiers, whoſe rapacity the general was unable to reſtrain.

THIS incident affected the duke of Alva with the moſt ſenſible concern. He was aware of the pernicious effects that muſt ariſe from it. He had ever valued himſelf, and not without reaſon, on the exact diſcipline which he had hitherto maintained. Inclined, but at the ſame time afraid, to employ rigour and ſeverity, leſt ſtill more pernicious conſequences ſhould follow, he reſolved to make trial of perſuaſion; and with this view he employed the interceſſion of the marquis of Vitelli, who was the moſt beloved as well as the moſt reſpected of all his officers. Vitelli exerted his utmoſt art and influence; and at laſt, with infinite difficulty, he perſuaded the mutineers to accept a part of their arrears, and to ſubmit to the authority of their commanders [a].

The ſiege of Alcmaer.

MUCH time having been employed in this negociation, the ſeaſon was far advanced before the army could be led to Alcmaer. This place (if they had attacked it ſooner) muſt unavoidably have fallen into their hands. It had been the laſt of all the cities in North Holland, in ſhaking off its allegiance to Philip. The catholic inhabitants were numerous, and had been able to keep poſſeſſion of one of the principal gates of the town. They had earneſtly ſolicited Toledo to haſten to their aſſiſtance. But the mutiny of his troops having prevented him from

[a] Bentivoglio, p. 131.

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complying with their requeſt till it was too late, the prince of Orange had improved the leiſure which this incident afforded him; and having ſent forces to the aſſiſtance of the proteſtant inhabitants, he had wreſted the gate out of the hands of the catholics; furniſhed the proteſtants with arms, and procured for them from the neighbouring cities, ſupplies of proviſions and military ſtores.

TOLEDO was aware of the diſadvantages which muſt attend his entering on the ſiege of a place, ſituated like Alcmaer, in a marſhy ſoil, ſo late in the year. But he hoped, that with ſo great an army as he now poſſeſſed [p], he would be able to reduce it before the rainy ſeaſon ſhould begin; and he knew that the reduction of Alcmaer would greatly facilitate his conqueſt of the other towns in the province. He left Haerlem, therefore, as ſoon as Vitelli had quelled the mutiny of the troops, and marched directly towards Alcmaer [q].

HAVING planted a battery on each ſide of the town, he began a briſk cannonading, and in a few days made ſuch conſiderable breaches, that he doubted not of being able to carry the town by ſtorm. In order to divide the garriſon, he reſolved to make an aſſault on both ſides at once. The inhabitants perceived his deſign, and prepared for their defence. The Spaniards having paſſed the ditch, by means of two portable bridges, advanced to the attack with loud ſhouts, and full of confidence that there was no force in the place ſufficient to oppoſe them. But they ſoon found that courage, when grounded on deſpair, can in ſome caſes ſupply the want both of diſcipline and numbers. The garriſon,

The Spaniards bravely repulſed.

[p] It amounted to ſixteen thouſand men.

[q] It lies at the diſtance of only one day's journey from Haerlem.

ſeconded

ſeconded by the townſmen, made ſo intrepid a reſiſtance, as filled the Spaniards with aſtoniſhment. They renewed the attack ſeveral times; but were at laſt obliged to retire with the loſs of ſix hundred killed, and three hundred wounded. Toledo could not, either by promiſes or threats, perſuade them to return to the aſſault. Soon afterwards the rains began to fall, and the Spaniards ſuffered greatly from the humidity of the air and ſoil. The duke of Alva too had received intelligence, that the Hollanders had formed the deſign of opening their ſluices, in order to lay the country round Alcmaer under water. To ſave his army, therefore, from deſtruction, he ſent orders to his ſon to raiſe the ſiege; which Frederic did accordingly on the eleventh of October. He then marched to the ſouthern parts of the province, and put his troops, greatly fatigued and exhauſted, into winter-quarters [r].

The ſiege raiſed.

ALVA was not more fortunate at this time by ſea, than he had been by land at Alcmaer. In revenge for the aſſiſtance which the people of Amſterdam had lent the Spaniards in the ſiege of Haerlem, the inhabitants of Enchuyſen, Horn, and other proteſtant cities, had fitted out againſt them a numerous fleet, which they ſtationed in the mouth of the river Ye. With this fleet they took or deſtroyed every veſſel that attempted to paſs from Amſterdam into the Zwider ſea, and thus put an entire ſtop to the trade of that commercial city. To remedy this evil, which muſt ſoon have proved fatal to a people who ſubſiſted wholly by trade, the duke of Alva had come himſelf to Amſterdam, where he had equipped with the utmoſt expedition a fleet, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of war, of a much larger ſize than uſual, of which he gave the command to the count de Boſſut. This fleet was much infe-

Sea fight near Amſterdam.

[r] Meteren, p. 123. Thuanus, lib. lv. ſect. 8.

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rior in number to that of the enemy; but this diſadvantage, Alva hoped, would be compenſated by the number of ſoldiers on board, added to the ſuperior ſize of the ſhips, and the ſkill and bravery of the commander.

The proteſtants victorious.

As ſoon as Boſſut approached the mouth of the river, the Hollanders left their ſtation, and retired towards Horn and Enchuyſen. Here they received a conſiderable reinforcement; and ſoon afterwards returned, under the command of Theodore Sonoy, to watch an opportunity to encounter the enemy on advantageous terms. The two fleets for ſome time lay in ſight of each other, and frequent ſkirmiſhes paſſed between them. Boſſut heſitated long, whether he ſhould venture to engage with a force ſo much ſuperior; and for this reaſon he kept his fleet in the open ſea, and in the deepeſt water, where he could avail himſelf of the ſize of his ſhips. But the people of Amſterdam, impatient under the interruption of their trade, having tranſmitted a falſe repreſentation to the duke of Alva of the ſtrength of the Dutch fleet, perſuaded him to ſend poſitive orders for a general engagement. Boſſut, though extremely diffident of ſucceſs, immediately ſteered towards the enemy, who lay in ſhallow water, prepared for his attack. The combat was begun with great ſpirit and intrepidity, but victory ſoon appeared on the ſide of the Hollanders; who having a much greater number of ſhips than the enemy, attacked them on every ſide; and being much nimbler in all their motions, did them a great deal of miſchief, while their own loſs was inconſiderable. Of Boſſut's fleet, one ſhip, with all the crew, was ſunk; three were ſtranded, and afterwards taken by the Hollanders; and all the reſt, except the admiral's galley, ſaved themſelves by flight. Of this veſſel, the cotemporary hiſtorians ſpeak in the ſtrongeſt terms; and repreſent her as one of the largeſt,

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largeſt, and the beſt equipped, that had been ever ſeen. She was ſurrounded by a number of the enemy's ſmaller veſſels, which battered her furiouſly on every ſide, and at length drove her upon a bank. Boſſut, ſtill unwilling to ſuffer her to fall into their hands, continued to make the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance[s], till, of three hundred ſoldiers on board, two hundred and twenty were killed, and all the reſt wounded but fifteen. In this ſituation, one of the Spaniards, who remembered the ſcenes of treachery and bloodſhed in which he had been concerned in Naerden and Haerlem, adviſed the admiral to receive the enemy into the ſhip, and then to blow her in the air. But Boſſut, conſcious of having done every thing that either his duty or his honour could require, refuſed to liſten to ſo deſperate a propoſal, and choſe rather to confide in an offer which was made him by the Hollanders, that if he would ſurrender without any further reſiſtance, they would ſpare the lives of all that were on board. On this condition the ſhip was accordingly given up; and Boſſut, with ſuch of the crew and ſoldiers as ſurvived, was conducted to priſon in the town of Horn[t].

Boſſut is taken priſoner.

SONOY ſent immediate notice of this victory to the States of Holland; who being ſenſible how much their ſafety depended on maintaining their ſuperiority at ſea, had been extremely anxious with regard to the iſſue of the conteſt; and they now appointed a ſolemn thankſgiving to be obſerved in all the churches of the province.

[s] This engagement laſted for twenty-eight hours.

[t] The admiral's ſhip called the Inquiſition, carried only two and thirty guns.—Thuanus, lib. lv. ſect. vii. Meteren, p. 125. Bentivoglio, p. 133.

THEIR

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1573. The States acquire San Gertrudenberg.

THEIR joy on this occaſion was not a little increaſed by the acquiſition of San Gertrudenberg; which gave them the command of the Maeſe, and a free entrance into the province of Brabant. It was taken by a detachment of their troops, under the command of the Sieur de Payette, a French proteſtant, who entered it in the night by ſcalade, and put the garriſon, conſiſting of a cohort of Walloons under a Spaniſh governor, to the ſword.

St. Aldegond taken priſoner.

THIS loſs was in ſome meaſure compenſated to the duke of Alva, by an advantage which a detachment of his army gained over the Sieur de St. Aldegond, who had marched with a body of troops to check the excurſions of the Spaniards in the ſouthern parts of Holland. St. Aldegond's forces were cut to pieces or diſperſed, and he himſelf was taken priſoner. Alva would not have ſpared the life of a man, who, by his activity, in rouſing the ſpirit of liberty among his countrymen, had rendered himſelf ſo exceedingly obnoxious, had he not been reſtrained by his regard for the preſervation of the count de Boſſut; upon whom the prince of Orange had declared he would retaliate, for whatever ſeverity ſhould be uſed againſt St. Aldegond [a].

Alva leaves the Netherlands.

ALVA intended to have begun the next campaign with the ſiege of Leyden; and with this view he ſeized upon a number of ſtations in the neighbourhood of that city. But this ſiege, no leſs memorable than that of Haerlem, was reſerved for his ſucceſſor. Alva had, as mentioned above, applied to Philip for liberty to leave the Low Countries, on account of the bad ſtate of his health, occaſioned by the moiſture of the climate, and the fatigues which he had undergone. This was believed by many to be only a pretence; while his requeſt proceeded in reality from apprehenſions,

[a] Meurſii Albanus, p. 270. Meteren, p. 125.

that

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that the king had liſtened to the repreſentations of his enemies, and would ſoon confer his office upon another. There is very little reaſon, however, to ſuppoſe that Philip was in the ſmalleſt degree diſſatisfied with his conduct, ſince he appears, in all his tyranny and violence, to have acted with ſtrict conformity to his inſtructions. But Philip having at laſt become diffident of the ſucceſs of thoſe cruel meaſures which he had hitherto preſcribed, had reſolved, not from choice, but from neceſſity, to make trial of ſome more gentle expedients. He knew how unfit the duke of Alva was to be employed in the execution of this new plan of government; and he believed that no conceſſions would prove acceptable to the revolted provinces, that could be made by one who had rendered himſelf ſo much the object of their abhorrence. He had therefore readily conſented that Alva ſhould retire, and had, more than a year before the preſent period, appointed the duke de Medina Cœli, governor of the Netherlands in his room. This nobleman having found, upon his arrival, that the provinces were in a very different ſtate from what he had expected, and that the charge which he had undertaken would probably be attended with much greater difficulty than glory, declined entering upon it, and afterwards obtained leave from Philip to return to Spain. He remained, however, in the Low Countries till towards the end of the preſent year, when the new governor, Don Lewis de Zuniga, and Requeſens, arrived. And ſoon afterwards the duke of Alva, who had come to Bruſſels to receive Requeſens, having reſigned the regency into his hands, ſet out with his ſon, by the way of Germany and Italy, for Spain.

The new governor.

On this occaſion men were affected variouſly. Even all the proteſtants did not entertain the ſame ſentiments with regard to the effects which the duke's departure was likely to produce.

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While ſome rejoiced at it from the dread which they entertained of his abilities; others conſidered, that for ſeveral months paſt his good fortune had forſaken him; and they believed that the abhorrence which his tyranny had excited towards his perſon and government, would, by proving a powerful bond of union among his enemies, effectually prevent them from liſtening to any inſidious terms of accommodation which the Spaniards might propoſe.

Alva's boaſt.

He was regarded both by the catholics and proteſtants, as the chief ſource of all the calamities in which the Netherlands had been involved. He had received his government from the dutcheſs of Parma, in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity. By his tyranny, he had thrown it into the moſt terrible combuſtion, and kindled the flames of a deſtructive war, which he was conſcious of being unable to extinguiſh, and had therefore applied for liberty to retire. He is ſaid to have boaſted to count Koningſtein[v], at whoſe houſe he lodged in his way to Italy, that, during his government of five years and a half, upwards of eighteen thouſand heretics had ſuffered by the hand of the public executioner; beſides a much greater number whom he had put to the ſword, in the towns which he took, and in the field of battle.

His government.

The ſituation of the Low Countries during Alva's adminiſtration, was truly deplorable. His oppreſſion was not confined to the proteſtants; but great numbers too of the catholics were put to death, and their effects forfeited, on the pretence of their having given entertainment to heretics, or of having held a correſpondence with them in their exile. Wives were puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity for affording ſhelter to their huſbands whom the council of tumults had condemned; children for performing the

[v] Uncle to the prince of Orange.

like

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like kind offices to their parents; and in Utrecht, a father was executed for allowing his ſon, who had returned from baniſhment, to lodge under his roof, for one night. By forcing ſo many thouſands of the moſt induſtrious inhabitants to leave the country, and by neglecting to provide a naval force to oppoſe the exiles at ſea, commerce was almoſt entirely ruined; notwithſtanding which, he impoſed upon the people more oppreſſive taxes than they could have borne, if they had been in the moſt flouriſhing condition. In levying theſe taxes, the utmoſt rigour was employed. The people were often wantonly provoked, and tumults purpoſely excited, from which occaſion was taken to puniſh them with confiſcation of their goods, and ſometimes both with death and confiſcation. From the confiſcations and taxes large ſums were raiſed; yet, by maintaining ſo numerous an army, and by building citadels to keep the principal towns in awe, as he received little aſſiſtance from the king, who was engaged in other expenſive enterpriſes, he fell behind in the payment of his troops; and in order to keep them in good humour, he permitted them to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants; againſt whom they exerciſed, on many occaſions, the moſt cruel and oppreſſive rapacity.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK XIII.

PART I.

BOOK XIII.

PHILIP could not have made choice of a more proper ſucceſſor to the duke of Alva than *Requeſens*, who had acquired ſome military fame in the battle of Lepanto, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the government of Milan, by his prudence and moderation; qualities from which Philip now hoped for greater ſucceſs, in quelling the rebellious ſpirit of his ſubjects in the Netherlands, than had attended the violent adminiſtration of the duke of Alva.

1573. Character of Requeſens.

To ſhew as early as poſſible, that a change of meaſures had been adopted by the court of Spain, Requeſens began his government with demoliſhing Alva's ſtatue abovementioned, and with repreſſing the inſolence of certain garriſons, at whoſe enormities

1574. He applies himſelf to raiſe the ſiege of Middleburg.

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mities his predeceſſor had connived [a]. He then applied with great induſtry to make the neceſſary preparations for the relief of Middleburg; which, having been cloſely beſieged by the Zealanders for more than a year and a half, was now reduced to the laſt extremity. Several vigorous attempts had been made, during the duke of Alva's adminiſtration, to raiſe the ſiege; but through the ſuperiority of the Dutch fleet, they had proved abortive; and Mondragon the governor had given notice, that if he was not relieved in a few days, he would find it neceſſary to ſurrender.

REQUESENS knew that nothing but the moſt preſſing neceſſity would have drawn this declaration from an officer of ſo great ſpirit and fortitude as Mondragon. And he was ſenſible, that, upon the preſervation of Middleburg, depended *that* of all the other towns in Zealand which retained their allegiance. He therefore poſtponed every other object of his attention; and having gone to Antwerp, he equipped there, and at Bergen-op-room, with the utmoſt expedition, a fleet conſiſting of more than thirty ſhips, beſides tranſports, with proviſions and military ſtores [b].

THIS fleet he divided into two ſquadrons, one of which commanded by the vice-admiral, the ſieur de Glimes and Julio Romero, he ordered to ſail from Bergen, down the Eaſter Scheld; and the other under Sancio d' Avila, to fall down the Hondt or Weſter Scheld, from Antwerp. By this meaſure, he intended to diſtract the enemy's attention, and to oblige them to divide their forces; and he hoped that at leaſt one of the two ſquadrons might effectuate its entrance into the canal of Middleburg.

[a] Strada, ab init. anno one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-four.

[b] Meteren, p. 131.

BUT

BUT the prince of Orange, whoſe adherents were numerous in every corner of the maritime provinces, had received early information of the governor's deſign, and had likewiſe got intelligence of his plan of operations. Having paſſed over from Holland to the iſle of Walcheren, and taken up his reſidence in Fluſhing, in order to aſſiſt the Zealanders with his counſel, William ſtationed a part of his fleet on the ſouth coaſt of the iſland, to lie in wait for d'Avila; and ſent all the reſt, ſtrongly manned, and well equipped for fighting, up the Eaſter Scheld, with orders, as ſoon as poſſible to attack the fleet under the command of de Glimes and Romero.

Battle of Sacherlo.

THIS fleet, with the greateſt part of the tranſports, had already ſet ſail from Bergen; and Requeſens, extremely anxious for its fate, had accompanied it as far as Sacherlo. There it caſt anchor, and was waiting for the riſing tide, when the Zealanders, commanded by Boiſot admiral of Holland, arrived in ſight. De Glimes ſoon perceived the ſuperiority of Boiſot's fleet, both in the ſize and number of the ſhips, and was of opinion that he ought not to proceed in the intended enterpriſe; but he was overruled by Romero, who, prompted by his innate courage, and by that contempt, which, like the reſt of his countrymen, he entertained for the Dutch inſurgents, inſiſted that they ſhould try the fortune of a battle. They accordingly weighed anchor, and advanced to the enemy. In the beginning of the engagement, De Glimes's own ſhip ran foul of a ſand bank, from which ſhe could not be diſengaged. The Zealanders perceiving her diſtreſs, attacked her on every ſide, and at length ſet her on fire. Romero haſtened to her aſſiſtance; but all his attempts to extinguiſh the flames proved ineffectual. In a few minutes ſhe ſunk; after having commu-

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communicated the flames to Romero's ſhip, that had come to her relief. Romero was obliged to jump overboard, and ſave his life by ſwimming [c]. The Zealanders had the ſame fortunate ſucceſs againſt all the other ſhips of the enemy; they ſunk ſome, burnt others, and took the reſt. Beſides De Glimes, and ſeveral other officers, near a thouſand Walloons and Spaniards periſhed. The victory was deciſive. And Requeſens had the mortification, from the dike of Sacherlo, to be an eye-witneſs of this diſaſter, which was great in itſelf; but was rendered ſtill greater, and more afflicting to him, by the fatal conſequences with which he foreſaw it muſt be attended.

D'Avila in the mean time, with the ſquadron under his command, had ſailed from Antwerp, and advanced as far as Fluſhing. Had he proceeded in his voyage without delay, he muſt have reached Middleburg, in ſpite of the Dutch fleet which had been ſtationed to oppoſe him; for it is not probable that he would have met with great reſiſtance from that fleet, as the flower of all the forces belonging to it had been ſent with Boiſot. The prince of Orange, who knew this, was extremely apprehenſive of the iſſue, and anxiouſly longed for Boiſot's return; but he was ſoon delivered from his anxiety, by obſerving from a promontory near Fluſhing, that, inſtead of haſtening forward, d'Avila had caſt anchor, and ſeemed reſolved to wait for the arrival of De Glimes and Romero. In a few hours d'Avila received intelligence of their defeat; after which, deſpairing of being able to relieve the beſieged, he immediately ſet ſail for Antwerp. He was purſued by the enemy; but having betaken himſelf to flight in time, he arrived with very little loſs at his deſtined port.

[c] Meurſii Auriacus, p. 122.

1574. The ſurrender of Middleburg.

THE prince of Orange conveyed intelligence to Mondragon of what had paſſed, by a Spaniſh officer whom he had taken priſoner, and at the ſame time threatened, that if he did not ſurrender the town in a few days, the garriſon ſhould be put to the ſword without mercy. Great numbers of the beſieged had already died of hunger, or of the unwholeſome food to which they had been obliged to have recourſe. Proviſions of almoſt every kind, not excepting the fleſh of dogs and horſes, were conſumed; nor had they any other food, but bread made of flax ſeed; and even this was nearly exhauſted. Mondragon perceiving that the deſtruction of the garriſon, as well as of the inhabitants, muſt be the certain conſequence of his refuſing to capitulate, conſented to give up both the city of Middleburg and Armuyden, on condition that the garriſons ſhould be allowed to depart with their arms and baggage, and that the eccleſiaſtics, and all ſuch of the catholic inhabitants as inclined to withdraw, ſhould have liberty to diſpoſe of their effects, and be tranſported to the continent. William highly reſpected Mondragon on account of his gallant conduct during the ſiege, and agreed to theſe conditions; but required that he ſhould pledge his honour that he would procure the releaſe of St. Aldegond, and two or three more of the Proteſtant leaders, to return into captivity. In the ſequel, Mondragon ſhewed himſelf worthy of the confidence which was repoſed in him. By his interceſſion with Requeſens, St. Aldegond and the other priſoners were ſet at liberty [d].

Apprehenſions of the prince of Orange.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſignal triumph gained over Requeſens in his firſt enterpriſe, the prince of Orange was not without apprehenſions, that the difference between his character and that of his predeceſſor, added to the difference of meaſures which he ſeemed determined to purſue, might produce ſome alteration in

[d] Meteren, p. 120. Bentivoglio.

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the ſentiments of the people. The high military talents, the vigour and activity of Alva, had been objects of dread and terror. They had overawed moſt of the provinces, and rendered the efforts of others ineffectual; but as the oppreſſive violence of that tyrant had at firſt given birth to the revolt, ſo it had contributed more than any other cauſe to cheriſh and ſupport it. Under a milder and more artful governor, William dreaded not only that the inhabitants of the interior provinces would acquieſce in the eſtabliſhed government, but that even the people of Holland and Zealand would be enticed, again to yield their necks to the Spaniſh yoke. And to prevent this, he employed every conſideration that could work either on their hopes or fears.

He puts the people on their guard.

THE king had ſo far complied with their wiſhes, as to remove the duke of Alva; but how little reaſon they had to flatter themſelves, that any greater regard would be now paid to their rights than formerly, was manifeſt from his choice of the new governor, who had procured his maſter's favour, by the exerciſe of cruelty over the Moors in Granada; and who, being a ſtranger and a Spaniard as well as Alva, could not be greatly intereſted in the proſperity of the provinces, nor have any other end in view, but to promote the tyrannical deſigns of the court of Spain. Requeſens indeed had a more benign and placid countenance than Alva; but the danger to which the provinces were expoſed, was for this reaſon the more to be dreaded by every friend of his country. Amidſt the governor's profeſſions of concern for their proſperity, no mention had been made of freeing them from that enormous load of taxes under which they groaned; or of delivering their conſciences from that reſtraint and violence, which the former governor had impoſed upon them; or of reſtoring the laws which Alva had ſo wantonly trampled under foot; or in

ſhort, of diſmiſſing thoſe foreign troops, from whoſe rapacity they had ſuffered ſuch intolerable outrage. In order to accompliſh theſe important purpoſes, the provinces of Holland and Zealand had taken up arms; and although the fortune of the war had been various, yet in ſpite of the moſt vigorous efforts of the duke of Alva, with a numerous army, to reduce them, theſe provinces were governed by their own inhabitants, and enjoyed the free and full poſſeſſion of their religious and civil rights. The other provinces ought now to imitate the example of their countrymen, and they might reaſonably hope that their endeavours would be attended with ſucceſs; the king having appointed a governor over them, inexperienced in the art of war, and unacquainted with the army under his command, which was at preſent ſtrongly infected with a ſpirit of ſedition and diſcontent. It might perhaps appear raſh and daring for the inhabitants of ſo narrow a territory as the Netherlands, to enter the liſts with ſo potent an enemy as the king of Spain; but the power of that monarch was not in reality ſo formidable as it ſeemed. The great extent of his dominions ſerved rather to embarraſs and encumber him, than to add to his ſtrength; and conſidering the diſtance of his place of reſidence, and the difficulty of tranſporting troops either from Spain or Italy, there was little reaſon to apprehend that he would ever be able to ſubdue the people of the Netherlands; if they acted with that unanimity and ſpirit which became them, in a cauſe, wherein, not only their property, and their exiſtence as a commercial ſtate, but their religion and civil liberty, were at ſtake."

The laſt attempt of count Lewis of Naſſau.

BY theſe and ſuch other arguments, did the prince of Orange animate the people to co-operate with him, in aſſerting their liberty, in oppoſition to the plan formed by the court of Spain to enſlave them.

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MEAN while, his brother count Lewis, who had reſided in Germany ever ſince the ſurrender of Mons, was employed in attempting to perſuade the proteſtant princes there, to aſſiſt him in his preparations for a new invaſion of the interior provinces; to which, notwithſtanding the failure of his former enterpriſes, Lewis was prompted, partly by his knowledge of the mutinous ſpirit of the Spaniſh troops, but chiefly by the proſpect of that aſſiſtance which it was now in his brother's power to afford him. It was concerted between the two brothers, that as ſoon as count Lewis had finiſhed his levies, the prince ſhould advance with a body of troops towards the interior provinces, either to make a diverſion in his brother's favour, or to unite their forces.

LEWIS found it extremely difficult to procure money to defray the expence of his intended expedition. His brother's fortune as well as his own were almoſt ruined by their former military enterpriſes. The States of Holland were involved in greater expence than they were able to ſupport. They had, in conjunction with the prince of Orange, made application to the queen of England; but this princeſs, being unwilling to embroil herſelf with Philip, had refuſed to aſſiſt them. Lewis had begun his preparations, in hopes of receiving ſupplies from ſome German princes, who had promiſed their aſſiſtance, but who were either not inclined, or unable to fulfil their engagements. To ſave himſelf from the affront of abandoning an undertaking, in which a great number of French and German proteſtants had engaged at his requeſt, he opened a negociation with Schomberg, ambaſſador of Charles the Ninth of France, who at this time courted the favour of the proteſtant princes in Germany, with a view to facilitate the election of his brother the duke of Anjou, to the crown

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of Poland. Between Lewis and Schomberg, who met at Francfort on the Maine, it was agreed, That if Charles ſhould, in behalf of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, declare war againſt the king of Spain, the provinces of Holland and Zealand ſhould be immediately delivered into the hands of the French monarch; on his engaging to maintain all their rights, and in particular, the free exerciſe of the reformed religion. But if Charles ſhould not make open war, it was agreed, that count Lewis ſhould have three hundred thouſand livres to aſſiſt him in his preſent enterpriſe; that the French king ſhould have the ſovereignty of Holland and Zealand, and that ſome of the German princes ſhould be ſurety for the performance of this condition. A part of the money was paid, and Lewis was thereby enabled to complete his levies, which amounted to between three and four thouſand horſe, and ſeven thouſand foot *.

He began his march, accompanied by his brother Henry, and Chriſtopher, ſon of the elector Palatine, in the beginning of February; and deſpiſing the rigour of the ſeaſon, he advanced with great rapidity towards the Netherlands, in hopes of finding the governor unprepared. Having croſſed the Rhine and the Moſelle, he directed his courſe towards Gelderland, with an intention to paſs the Maeſe at Maeſtricht, and to purſue his march through Brabant, till he ſhould unite his forces with thoſe which his brother had engaged to bring to his aſſiſtance.

The governor's perplexity.

With ſo great diſpatch and ſecrecy had Lewis conducted his preparations, that Requeſens remained ignorant of his deſign, till he was informed that he had begun his march. By this intelligence

* Thuanus, lib. lv. Meteren, p. 133.—Charles died ſoon after, and the treaty had no other conſequences.

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the governor was thrown into great perplexity. His troops had been lately ſo much reduced, that it was impoſſible for him to oppoſe both the brothers at the ſame time; and he conſidered, that to unite his forces, and employ them againſt Lewis, would expoſe the maritime provinces an eaſy prey to the prince of Orange. His anxiety was increaſed by the diſcovery of an intrigue, which had been formed by William's adherents, for the ſurpriſe of Antwerp. Nor was he entirely free from apprehenſions that his troops might refuſe to quit the towns in which they were ſtationed, till they ſhould receive payment of their arrears. Having convened a council of his principal officers, and heard their opinions of the meaſures which they thought moſt proper to be purſued, he reſolved to remain, together with the Marquis of Vitelli, in Antwerp, to watch the ſecret machinations of the prince of Orange; and ſuch troops as could be ſooneſt drawn together, were immediately ſent off under Sancio d'Avila, to oppoſe the paſſage of count Lewis over the Maeſe. The reſt followed ſoon after; having been perſuaded to leave their quarters, by a promiſe that their arrears ſhould be paid, as ſoon as the provinces were delivered from the impending danger.

Lewis in the mean time advancing towards the frontier, had arrived within a few miles of Maeſtricht, where he pitched his camp; in expectation that his friends in the place would be able to make themſelves maſters of one of the gates. But Requeſens having diſcovered his intention, had diſpatched ſeveral companies of light armed troops before the main army, to ſecure the town. Theſe troops arrived in time to prevent the friends of Lewis from executing their deſign; and in a few days afterwards, they were joined by d'Avila with the reſt of the forces.

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LEWIS was not prepared for undertaking the ſiege of a place ſo completely fortified as Maeſtricht; and after ſome trials of ſtrength in two or three ſkirmiſhes with the Spaniards, he decamped, and marched down the Eaſt ſide of the river, till he came to Ruremonde; but there too, as well as in Maeſtricht, the proteſtants were intimidated and overawed, and not a ſingle perſon ventured to declare in his favour. He continued his march in the ſame direction, reſolving to haſten forward till he ſhould join his brother, who was advancing to meet him in the country which lies between the Maeſe and the Waal.

D'AVILA aimed at nothing for ſome time, but to prevent Lewis from tranſporting his army over the river, and with this view he had marched as near him as poſſible, having the river between them; but receiving a reinforcement of two thouſand veteran troops, and finding, by the information of his ſpies, that Lewis had laid aſide his firſt deſign of croſſing the Maeſe, and was on full march towards the prince of Orange, he conſidered, that it was of the higheſt importance to prevent their junction; and that for this purpoſe it was neceſſary to compel Lewis as ſoon as poſſible to engage. With this intention he proceeded with the utmoſt celerity down the river, and having croſſed it by a bridge of boats at the town of Grave, he thus got between count Lewis and his brother's army. Lewis, anxious to prevent this, had avoided every unneceſſary delay; but his troops, chagrined at being refuſed admittance firſt into Maeſtricht, and afterwards into Ruremonde, had proceeded in their march with much leſs alacrity than the Spaniards. He received the firſt intelligence of D'Avila's having croſſed the Maeſe when he arrived at Mooch, a village at the diſtance of only one league from the Spaniſh army, and on the ſame ſide of the river. He

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ſoon perceived the neceſſity to which he was reduced, either to give the enemy battle, or to retire. To retire, he ſaw, muſt be extremely difficult and dangerous, on account of the diſorder and conſternation which commonly attend a retreat; and therefore he did not heſitate to try the fortune of a battle, although he knew how much inferior his undiſciplined forces were to the Spaniards, who were ſelect veteran troops, animated by the conſciouſneſs of ſuperior proweſs, and commanded by d'Avila, a perſon of extraordinary abilities, who, by merit alone, had raiſed himſelf from the ſtation of a common ſoldier, to the rank of general.

Battle of Mooch.

To enable him to reſiſt ſo formidable an enemy, Lewis reſolved to remain in his preſent ſituation at Mooch, and to cover his infantry with a ſtrong intrenchment. His cavalry, though reduced by deſertion, was ſtill ſuperior to that of the enemy; but from this ſuperiority, the nature of the ground, which riſes into hills at a little diſtance from the river, did not ſuffer him to derive any conſiderable advantage. He drew them up as well as the unequal face of the country would permit, on the right of his camp; and upon a hill behind his main army, he placed a ſquadron of choſen troops, with which he intended either to fix the victory, if it ſhould appear doubtful; or, in caſe of a defeat, to open a paſſage through the enemy to his brother, who had now advanced as far as Nimeguen to meet him. He had juſt time to put his troops in order of battle when d'Avila arrived, having his infantry on the right, and on the left his cavalry, flanked by a body of muſqueteers, deſigned to ſupport them againſt the ſuperior numbers of the German cavalry.

D'Avila began the engagement by ſending three hundred men to attack the enemy's lines. The troops which had been

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been appointed to defend them, advanced briſkly towards the Spaniards, and gave them a gallant and reſolute reception; but they were ſoon compelled to retire. The Spaniards followed, and attempted to enter the camp along with them. The action there was bloody and obſtinate, and freſh ſuccours haſtened from both armies to the aſſiſtance of the combatants. But the cotemporary hiſtorians differ ſo widely from each other in their accounts of this engagement, that it is impoſſible to know the truth. Some authors affirm, that the Germans acquitted themſelves with honour, and made a bold and vigorous reſiſtance. Others ſay, that only the French troops in count Lewis's army performed their duty, while the Germans refuſed to advance unleſs their arrears were paid, and remained obſtinately in their camp till the Spaniards broke into it, and, after making prodigious havock among them, put them to an ignominious flight. In the beginning of the action, the German cavalry proved an overmatch for their antagoniſts, and having fallen with great fury on that part of the enemy's horſe that was neareſt them, they drove them to a diſtance from the field of battle; but when they were forming themſelves again for a new attack, ſome freſh ſquadrons of the Spaniſh cavalry advanced, and threw them into diſorder. The Spaniſh muſqueteers, who had been placed to ſupport the horſe, were then of ſignal uſe. With their ſhot they galled the Germans in flank, and greatly augmented their confuſion. Count Lewis and the Palatine attempted, but in vain, to rally them. Theſe princes did every thing to reſtore the battle that could have been done by the moſt expert commanders, while they endeavoured to animate their troops by their example, and gave conſpicuous proofs of the moſt heroic valour. Their efforts might

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might have been crowned with ſucceſs, if a body of Spaniſh lances had not arrived when the German reiters had begun to give way. The reiters were overpowered; above five hundred of them were killed, and of the infantry between three and four thouſand. The victory was deciſive, and the value of it to the conquerors was greatly enhanced by the deaths of count Lewis, his brother Henry, and the Palatine; all of whom the cotemporary hiſtorians deſcribe as having exerted the higheſt degree of vigour and intrepidity, although none of theſe writers were able to procure information of the manner in which they fell. Their death was matter of great lamentation to the proteſtant confederates, and eſpecially the death of Lewis, who had made ſo many great exertions in their behalf.

Mutiny of the Spaniſh troops.

As ſoon as the prince of Orange received the melancholy news of this diſaſter, he began to return towards Holland, being convinced that now, when he was deprived of his brother's aid, it would be in vain for him to attempt to keep the field[s].

WILLIAM expected that they would have immediately followed him, in order to improve their victory, whilſt the terror which it inſpired was recent; and they would probably have done ſo, had not the Spaniſh troops ſullied the glory which they had acquired, by rebelling againſt their officers on the next day after the battle. D'Avila could not inſtantly fulfil his engagement to pay their arrears. Almoſt three years pay was due to them. Even before the preſent expedition, their patience had been worn out, and it appears to have been the hopes of plunder, or the dread of conſequences fatal to themſelves, that induced them to march againſt the Germans, more than their confidence

[s] Bentivoglio, p. 143. Thuanus, lib. lix. ſect. xv. Van Meteren, p. 132.

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in the promiſe which D'Avila had made them. Being now freed from their apprehenſions of perſonal danger, and diſappointed in their expectations of being enriched by the ſpoils of the enemy, who were ſtill poorer than themſelves, they demanded from their general the immediate performance of his promiſe; and when they only received new aſſurances of the ſame kind as thoſe with which they had been amuſed before, they threatened to take vengeance on him for his falſehood and deceit. He and the other officers endeavoured to appeaſe them, but in vain. In order to avoid their fury, he was obliged to make his eſcape ſecretly from the camp; and immediately after his departure, they ran to arms, expelled their officers, and, having from among themſelves elected other officers and a commander in chief, they quickly left Mooch, and directed their march to Antwerp, with an intention to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants of that wealthy city, till they ſhould extort payment of their arrears.

They take poſſeſſion of Antwerp.

REQUESENS having received intelligence of their deſign, had remained at Antwerp; and, if he had complied with the counſel of Champigny, governor of the town, and taken precautions for ſecuring a part of the fortifications which was unfiniſhed, he might have fruſtrated their attempt; but being extremely diffident of the Spaniſh part of the garriſon, which had the ſame ground of diſcontent with the mutineers, and flattering himſelf with the hopes of being able to appeaſe them, he ſuffered them to enter the city without reſiſtance, to the number of three thouſand men. They had no ſooner entered, than they formed themſelves in order of battle. The citizens were overwhelmed with terror, and many of them fled precipitately out of the city. Requeſens rode up to the mutineers, and remonſtrating to them on the pernicious tendency of their conduct, he prayed, intreated,

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and threatened them; but could not, by addreſſing either their hopes or fears, draw any other conceſſion from them, but that they would abſtain from plunder, on condition that they ſhould receive immediate payment of their arrears, and that the Walloons and Germans under the command of Champigny, ſhould be ordered to quit the town. With this laſt requeſt, the governor thought it expedient to comply; and thus the mutineers were left in full poſſeſſion of the place, without any force to controul them. The firſt object of their attention was to ſecure the gates, after which they diſperſed themſelves over the city, and took up their quarters in the houſes of the principal inhabitants, where they ſtudied to create expence, and night and day to give diſturbance and uneaſineſs. They were perpetually calling on the governor to fulfil his engagements; and as they daily threatened to ſack and plunder the town, if he did not ſpeedily comply with their requeſts, the people were diſquieted with continual apprehenſions and alarms. The mutineers required payment not only of their own arrears, but of thoſe too which had been due to ſuch of their companions as had died of diſeaſes or fallen in battle. At length, the ſum of one hundred thouſand florins was raiſed by the inhabitants; and the governor was obliged to pledge his jewels and furniture for the remainder, and to grant a pardon, confirmed by a ſolemn oath, to all concerned in this ſedition; after which the mutineers returned under their former officers, and went to join the reſt of the army which was now in Holland, and had already begun the ſiege of Leyden.

May 30.

Deſtruction of the king's fleet.

FROM this mutiny, Philip's intereſt in the Netherlands ſuffered greatly in ſeveral reſpects. In the time of D'Avila's expedition againſt count Lewis, Requeſens having exerted his utmoſt vigour

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and activity, had equipped a numerous fleet, which he intended to employ in the recovery of Zealand. When the mutineers arrived at Antwerp, this fleet, which was not yet of ſufficient ſtrength, lay under the walls of the city. Adolphus Hanſtede, the commander, anxious for his charge, and apprehenſive that the ſeditious ſoldiers might, in order to extort compliance with their demands, take poſſeſſion of the ſhips, had removed them to a place at ſome diſtance from Antwerp, where they were out of the reach of the Spaniards. But, in avoiding this danger, he fell into a greater. The Zealanders, whoſe partiſans were continually on the watch, quickly received intelligence of his change of ſtation, and reſolved to improve the opportunity which was thus preſented to them. Having attacked him when he was utterly unprepared for defence; they took forty of his ſhips; ſunk and deſtroyed ſeveral others; and rendered all the reſt unfit for ſervice. By this ſevere blow, the plan which Requeſens had projected, for recovering the maritime towns, was entirely diſconcerted. The fleet now deſtroyed, was to have acted in conjunction with another, which Philip had been preparing in the ports of Spain. But as the Spaniſh fleet was deemed too weak to contend ſingly with the enemy, the deſign was laid aſide for the preſent; and no future governor of the Low-Countries ever found it practicable to revive it [s].

WHILST the Zealanders availed themſelves of the ſedition in the Spaniſh army by ſea, the prince of Orange had been equally intent on deriving advantage from it by land. On receiving information of the fate of his brothers, he had begun his march towards Holland; but when intelligence was brought him that the Spaniards had mutinied, he reſolved to improve the opportunity

[s] Bentivoglio, p. 149. Meteren, 137.

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which this afforded him, by making ſome new acquiſition. Paſſing over into the iſle of Bommel, which is formed by the confluence of the Maeſe and the Rhine, he engaged the chief town in it to eſpouſe his intereſt; and having fixed his head-quarters there for ſome time, he gave ſupport to his friends in the iſland, and reduced to great extremity ſuch of the people as ſtill adhered to the Spaniſh government. The marquis of Vitelli was diſpatched by Requeſens to oppoſe his progreſs. That able commander rendered abortive a deſign which the prince had formed on Bois-le-duc; and the prince, on the other hand, took meaſures which prevented the town of Bommel from falling into the hands of Vitelli. But the attention of both was ſoon after this ingroſſed by a more important and intereſting object, the ſiege of Leyden, to the relation of which I ſhall proceed, after mentioning an attempt of Requeſens, to put an end to the war, by publiſhing a new act of indemnity in the name of the king.

Act of indemnity.

ALTHOUGH ſeveral perſons were excluded from the benefit of this indemnity, yet it was much more comprehenſive than that which had been publiſhed ſome time before by the duke of Alva. It did not however produce the deſired effect. The people were not conſcious of that guilt which Philip's pompous deed of clemency imputed to them; they believed that they had ſuffered wrong, inſtead of having done it; and they could not be grateful to him for diſpenſing with a puniſhment, which they thought it would have been in the higheſt degree tyrannical to inflict. Beſides this, the pardon was clogged with a condition, by which almoſt all the inhabitants of Holland and Zealand, amounting to many hundred thouſands, and great numbers too in the other provinces, were excluded. This was, that the proteſtants ſhould renounce their religion, and return into the boſom of the church;

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a condition from which Philip's bigotry would never ſuffer him to depart, nor the zeal and ſincerity of the reformers permit them to accept. Requeſens could not be ignorant of this, yet he entertained ſome hopes at this time of bringing about an accommodation, by means of St. Aldegond, who had not as yet obtained his liberty. The governor ſent Champigny and Junius de Jong to treat with him; but when St. Aldegond informed them that no peace would be ever agreed to by the maritime provinces, unleſs the queſtion concerning religion were left to the deciſion of the States, Requeſens, who knew that Philip would never conſent to that condition, ordered the conference to be immediately diſſolved [h].

The ſiege of Leyden.

He now bent his whole attention to the ſiege of Leyden. He had blockaded that city for ſeveral months in the winter ſeaſon, and reduced the inhabitants to great diſtreſs; but he had been obliged to deſiſt from his undertaking, and to call off his troops to oppoſe the German army. They left their ſtations in the neighbourhood of Leyden on the 21ſt of March, and reſumed them on the 26th of May.

In order to form a juſt conception of the operations of this memorable ſiege, it is neceſſary to remember that Leyden lies in a low ſituation, in the midſt of a labyrinth of rivulets and canals. The city was large and populous; and at the time of the ſiege was ſurrounded with a deep ditch, and a ſtrong wall, flanked with baſtions. That branch of the Rhine which ſtill retains its ancient name, paſſes through the middle of it; and from this ſtream ſuch an infinity of canals are derived, that it is difficult to ſay whether the water or the land poſſeſſes the greater ſpace. By theſe ca-

[h] Bentivoglio, p. 150.

nals,

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nals, the ground on which the city ſtands is divided into a great number of ſmall iſlands, united together by near a hundred and fifty ſtone bridges, that are equally ſubſervient to the beauty of the place, and the convenience of the inhabitants. Leyden is at the diſtance of a few hours journey from the Hague, Delft, and Gouda, and only a little farther from Rotterdam on the one hand, and Haerlem on the other. On account of its ſituation, as well as on its own account, it was deemed a place of the firſt importance, and a prize worthy of all the ardour which was diſplayed by the contending parties.

THE prince of Orange, who had received notice of the governor's intention to renew the ſiege, communicated his intelligence to the citizens; and exhorted them to furniſh themſelves with ſtores of proviſions, and to ſend out of the town all ſuch perſons as would be uſeleſs in defending it. They were not ſufficiently attentive to theſe injunctions. The prince complained of their remiſſneſs, and informed them, that for three months at leaſt it would not be in the power of the States to raiſe the ſiege.

To retard the approach of the Spaniards, he ordered ten companies of Engliſh adventurers, under the command of colonel Edward Cheſter, to take poſſeſſion of two forts, one at the ſluice of Gouda, and the other at the village of Alphen, by which the enemy muſt paſs in their way to the city. Theſe troops did not anſwer the expectation which William had conceived of their behaviour. The five companies which were placed at the ſluice of Gouda, after a ſhort reſiſtance, betook themſelves to flight; and the other five, after a ſkirmiſh in which no perſon fell on either ſide, baſely imitated the example of their countrymen, and retired under the walls of Leyden. The citizens, who from their ramparts had beheld

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their ignominious behaviour, and ſuſpected them of treachery, refuſed to admit them within the town. The Engliſh aſcribed their conduct to the inſufficiency of the fortifications which they had been appointed to defend; but not being able to wipe out the ſuſpicion entertained of their fidelity, they all deſerted to the enemy, but a few whom the people of Leyden received with open arms [i].

THE prince of Orange having intended, that the Engliſh forces, after being obliged to quit their firſt ſtations, ſhould have retired into the town, had not provided any other troops to defend it. The inhabitants were therefore reduced to the neceſſity of truſting for their defence, to their own valour and conduct: a circumſtance, which at firſt had a formidable aſpect, but which in the end proved the cauſe of their preſervation; ſince it was thereby much longer before they were reduced by famine, than it would have been, if, beſides themſelves, they had had a numerous garriſon to ſupport.

Janus Douza, chief magiſtrate of Leyden.

THE government of Leyden was committed on this occaſion to Janus Douza [k], a perſon of noble birth; and well known in the literary world, by his poetical productions. By his example, and his eloquence, this illuſtrious patriot kindled in the minds of his fellow-citizens, ſuch a zeal for liberty, and ſo great an abhorrence of the tyranny of Spain, as rendered them ſuperior to every diſtreſs, and in a great meaſure ſupplied their want of military ſkill. They muſt, however, have been found inferior to the Spaniards; and if Valdez, the Spaniſh commander, to whom Requeſens committed the conduct of the ſiege, had puſhed his operations with proper vigour, he muſt cer-

The blockade is formed.

[i] Meteren, p. 139.

[k] Or Jean Vander Does, lord of Noordwick.

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tainly have made himſelf maſter of the town. But whether he wanted to ſave his men, and to carry his end without bloodſhed; or deſpaired, with the ſkill and force which he poſſeſſed, to be able to reduce ſo ſtrong a place by ſack and ſtorm, he did not think of any other expedient for ſubduing it, but that of blocking it up on all ſides, ſo as to prevent the entrance of ſupplies. To this one point, all his operations were directed. By a circular chain of more than ſixty forts, which communicated with each other, and ran quite round the city, he inveſted it on every ſide, and not only rendered it impoſſible to introduce ſupplies, but even cut off all intelligence between the beſieged and their friends in the other cities, except what was conveyed by pigeons, in the manner to which the proteſtants had recourſe during the blockade of Haerlem[1].

Conduct and reſolution of the inhabitants.

By one of the forts called Lammen, the beſieged having been deprived of the benefit of paſturing their cattle in the neighbouring meadows, they ſallied out with great fury upon the Spaniards, and almoſt got poſſeſſion of the fort; but after an obſtinate and bloody conteſt, they were at laſt obliged to retire. The Spaniards fortified themſelves in that ſtation more ſtrongly than before; and the beſieged now deſpaired of being able, either in that, or any other quarter, to remove them to a greater diſtance from the city. Inſtead of this, they apprehended daily their nearer approach to it; and expected that they would ſoon open their batteries, in order to prepare for taking it by ſtorm. This belief ſerved to quicken the inhabitants; and the women as well as the men were employed day and night, without ceaſing, in ſtrengthening the fortifications. An account was taken of the ſtock of

[1] Theſe pigeons were embalmed, and are ſtill preſerved in the town-houſe of Leyden. Les delices des Pays bas.

proviſions

proviſions within the town; and in order to make it hold out as long as poſſible, they began to huſband it betimes. They were perpetually exhorting and animating each other, and expatiating upon the cruelty and perfidy of the Spaniards, and the unworthy fate of the people of Zutphen, Haerlem, and other places, who had truſted to their faith and mercy. When they were ſolicited to return to their allegiance by Lanoy, De Lique, and other natives of the Low Countries; they made anſwer, in the words of a Latin poet,

Fiſtula dulce canit volucrem dum decipit auceps.

To other letters, in which they were deſired to reflect on the miſery to which they muſt ere long be reduced, they replied, that they had, upon the moſt mature conſideration, reſolved rather to die of hunger, or to periſh with their wives and children in the flames of the city, kindled by their own hands, than ſubmit to the tyranny of the Spaniards [m].

Their diſtreſs.

THAT miſery which, during the firſt two months of the ſiege, exiſted only in idea, was at laſt realized. Their whole ſtock of ordinary proviſions being conſumed, they were obliged to have recourſe to the fleſh of dogs and horſes. Great numbers died of want; and many by the uſe of this unnatural food. The reſolution of the people at length began to fail, and they now believed their preſent calamities to be ſuperior even to thoſe they ſhould experience under the Spaniſh government. Some of them con-

[m] Another ſaying, ſtill more ferocious, is recorded by ſome hiſtorians; That rather than ſubmit to ſo perfidious an enemy, they would feed on their left arms, and defend themſelves with their right. Van Meteren, ut ſupra.

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ceived a deſign to deliver up the town, and formed a ſecret aſſociation for this purpoſe. But their plot being detected, means were taken to prevent them from putting it in execution. A great number of people having come one day in a tumultuous manner to a magiſtrate whoſe name was Adrian, exclaiming that he ought either to give them food, or deliver the town into the hands of the enemy, "I have ſolemnly ſworn, he replied, that I will never ſurrender myſelf, or my fellow-citizens, to the cruel and perfidious Spaniard; and I will ſooner die than violate my oath. I have no food, elſe I would give it you. But if my death can be of uſe to you, take, tear me in pieces, and devour me; I ſhall die with ſatisfaction, if I know that by my death I ſhall for one moment relieve you from your direful neceſſity."

By this extraordinary anſwer, the people, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, were ſilenced, and their fury was for ſome time appeaſed.

The States reſolve to lay the country under water.

The prince of Orange, who was not ignorant of the extreme miſery to which the beſieged were reduced, had done every thing in his power to accompliſh their relief. He had already collected large ſupplies of proviſions; but could not, with all his activity and addreſs, raiſe a ſufficient force to open a paſſage into the city. When he found that the ſituation of the beſieged would not admit of longer delay, he convened an aſſembly of the States of the province. And the deputies, after conſidering the ſtrength of the enemy, and the amount of their own forces, perceiving it to be impracticable to relieve the beſieged, either by land, or by the river and canals, agreed to have recourſe to an expedient, which was dictated by deſpair, and was the only one at preſent in their power to employ. They reſolved to avail themſelves, againſt the Spaniards, of that furious element, from which their country had

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often ſuffered the moſt dreadful devaſtation; to open their ſluices, to break down the dikes of the Maeſe and the Iſſel, and by thus laying all the country round Leyden under water, to get acceſs to the beſieged with their fleet. Nothing could be more repugnant to the ideas of this people, than ſuch a reſolution. To drain their lands, to exclude the water, and preſerve their dikes, were then, as they are ſtill, objects to the Dutch of almoſt continual attention, and which coſt them annually an immenſe expence. But they were at preſent animated by objects ſtill more important and intereſting; and their love of liberty, joined to their dread of popery and the Spaniſh yoke, prevailed over every other conſideration. The damage, which it was ſuppoſed would ariſe from the meaſure adopted, was eſtimated at ſix hundred thouſand guilders. But they conſidered, that if the Spaniards ſhould ſucceed in their preſent enterpriſe, not only the region to be overflowed, but all the reſt of the province, would fall under their ſubjection. This the States regarded as infinitely worſe than either poverty or death; and in their preſent diſpoſition, they would have choſen to ruin the country altogether, rather than leave it to be enjoyed by an enemy whom they held in ſuch abhorrence. They now applied themſelves to the demolition of thoſe mounds, upon which their exiſtence as a nation depends, with a degree of induſtry and ardor, equal to that which they were accuſtomed to employ in repairing them, after the ravages of an inundation.

THE water, after its barriers were removed, diffuſed itſelf over all the adjacent fields; and in a few days, almoſt the whole region which lies between Rotterdam, Gouda, Delft, and Leyden, was overflowed. The Spaniards were thrown at firſt into the utmoſt dread and terror; but when they underſtood the cauſe of this

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unexpected inundation, and obſerved that the water did not riſe above a certain height, they recovered from their aſtoniſhment. They were obliged to abandon ſuch of their forts as were ſituated in the lower grounds, and to retire to thoſe which ſtood higher; but of theſe laſt they hoped to be able to keep poſſeſſion, and to continue the blockade, till the famine, which they knew raged in the town with dreadful fury, ſhould conquer the obſtinacy of the citizens, and bring the ſiege to a concluſion.

THE prince of Orange, in the mean time, was employed in preparing every thing neceſſary to carry into execution the meaſure which the States had adopted. He ordered to be built, at Rotterdam and other places, near two hundred flat-bottomed veſſels, having each of them ten, twelve, fourteen or ſixteen oars; and theſe he mounted with guns, and manned with eight hundred Zealanders; a rude and ſavage, but a brave and determined band, animated at once by religious zeal, and the moſt implacable hatred againſt the Spaniards; and whoſe appearance was rendered horrid by the ſcars of innumerable wounds, which they had received in their late naval engagements. They were brought from the fleet by Boiſſot, the admiral of Zealand, to whom the conduct of the preſent enterpriſe was committed [n].

WITH ſuch of the veſſels as were already equipped, Boiſſot left Delft in the beginning of September, and directed his courſe towards Leyden. But the water had not as yet riſen to a ſufficient height, and the banks of the rivers and canals, in which only,

[n] The ſpirit by which theſe men were actuated, may be conceived from their method of diſtinguiſhing themſelves; which was by wearing a half moon on their caps, with this inſcription, Turks rather than papiſts. Meteren, p. 140.

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there was a proper depth of water, were ſo ſtrongly fortified, as to render his approach to the city impracticable. From ſome of their forts he obliged the Spaniards to retire, but others were of ſufficient ſtrength to withſtand his moſt vigorous attacks. In order to avoid theſe, he broke down more dikes as he advanced, and in his progreſs, had ſeveral bloody engagements with the enemy. The blockade, however, remained ſtill as cloſe as ever. Boiſſot began to be apprehenſive of the iſſue. Heaven ſeemed not to favour his deſign. The north wind continued much longer than had been ever known at the preſent ſeaſon, and retarded the water in its aſcent. The prince of Orange, when Boiſſot entered upon this expedition, had been confined to his chamber by a dangerous illneſs. He was now recovered, and came to viſit the admiral's diſpoſition of his ſhips, which he found to be exactly conformable to the directions which the States had given him; but their deſign, the prince perceived, muſt prove abortive, and all their labour and expence be loſt, unleſs the wind ſhould change ſoon to another quarter, and the autumnal tides riſe as uſual.

The anxiety and miſery of the citizens.

WITH extreme impatience they now expected the approach of theſe tides, which are commonly the ſubject of their dread and terror. The ſituation of the beſieged was become the moſt deplorable and deſperate. During ſeven weeks there had not been a morſel of bread within the city; and the only food had been the roots of herbs and weeds, and the fleſh of dogs and horſes. Even all theſe were at length conſumed; and the people reduced to live on ſoup made of the hides of animals which had been killed. A peſtilence ſucceeded to the famine, and carried off in a few weeks ſome thouſands of the inhabitants.

Thoſe

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Thoſe who ſurvived, overwhelmed with anguiſh at the diſmal ſcenes which they daily beheld, were ſcarcely able to perform the mournful office of burying the dead. In this dreadful ſituation, they ſaw from their walls, the ſails and flags of the veſſels deſtined for their relief; but had the mortification to perceive, that it was utterly impoſſible for them to approach. It is not ſurpriſing that ſome of the people, finding their miſery greater than they were able to endure, ſhould have entertained the thoughts of ſurrendering the town to the enemy. Some conſpiracies were again formed for this purpoſe; but they were diſcovered and defeated by the vigilance of Douza, ſupported by a great majority of the people, to whom neither the peſtilence, nor famine, nor death, in its moſt hideous forms, appeared ſo dreadful, as the tyranny of the Spaniards.

Their deliverance.

BUT the time of their deliverance was at hand; and Heaven interpoſed at laſt in a conſpicuous manner in their behalf. Towards the end of September, the wind changing from the north-eaſt to the north-weſt, poured the ocean into the mouths of the rivers with uncommon violence; and then veering about to the ſouth, it puſhed the water towards the plains of Leyden, till they were converted into a ſpacious lake, in which the Spaniſh forts were ſeen ſcattered up and down, and many of them almoſt covered with the water.

BOISSOT ſeized with ardor the opportunity which was thus preſented to him. And though ſeveral of the enemy's fortifications ſtill lay in the way by which it was neceſſary for him to advance, he ſoon obliged the Spaniards to abandon them. The Zealanders purſued them, ſometimes on foot along the dikes, and ſometimes in their boats; and had ſeveral fierce rencounters with them,

them, in which, from the advantage which their boats afforded them, they were every where victorious. The ſituation of the Spaniſh troops at this time was truly deplorable. Some were ſwallowed up in the mud and water; and others attempting to march along the dikes, were either killed by the fire from the boats, or dragged down with hooks fixed to the ends of long poles, and put to the ſword without mercy. Fifteen hundred periſhed in their retreat.

ALL the forts were now forſaken, except the fort above mentioned, called Lammen, of which, if the Spaniards had kept poſſeſſion, they might have retarded the approach of the fleet for ſeveral days. This fort was much ſtronger, and ſtood higher than the reſt. But when the garriſon underſtood that their general had fled, and that the Zealanders on the one hand, and the beſieged on the other, were preparing to begin an attack, they abandoned their ſtation, and by torch light effectuated a junction with the reſt of the forces, in the middle of the night.

IN this manner was the ſiege of Leyden raiſed, in the beginning of the fifth month after the blockade was formed. Boiſſot advanced without delay to the gates of the city. The people, pale and meagre, ran, as their ſmall remains of ſtrength would allow, to meet him; and many of them ſo greedily devoured the food which he diſtributed, that what was intended for their relief, proved the cauſe of their inſtant deſtruction; for proviſions of every kind in the city had been entirely exhauſted, and the beſieged were ſo weakened, that if the blockade had continued two days longer, they muſt all have periſhed°.

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° They eſcaped ſtill more narrowly from falling into the hands of the enemy. In the night immediately preceding, and at the very time when the Spaniards were making their retreat

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When they were ſomewhat refreſhed with the food which Boiſſot had brought, they accompanied the magiſtrates to one of the churches, to render thanks to the Almighty. Never was any aſſembly more deeply agitated. By the conſideration of their ſignal and unexpected deliverance, when they were upon the brink of ruin; joined to their remembrance of the diſmal ſcenes which they had witneſſed, and of the many friends and fellow-citizens whom the famine and peſtilence had carried off, their minds were overpowered at once with gratitude and ſorrow. They were diſſolved in tears; and mingled together the voices of praiſe and of lamentation.

The cotemporary hiſtorians have further recorded, that when the prince of Orange received information of the raiſing of the ſiege, being engaged in public worſhip in one of the churches at Delft, he ſtood up, and read to the audience the letters which contained the intelligence; after which, the States being convened, a day of general thankſgiving was appointed.

The Spaniſh army took their route by the way of Amſterdam and Utrecht, and attempted to get poſſeſſion of the laſt of theſe places by ſurpriſe; but the gates being ſhut againſt them, and a contribution of money offered, they were prevailed on to purſue their march towards Maeſtricht, where they were put into winter-quarters [p].

PART

retreat from the fort of Lammen, a great part of the wall of the city having fallen down, the noiſe reached the ears of the Spaniards; who, if they had known the cauſe, might have entered the town without reſiſtance. But their dread repreſented the noiſe to their imaginations as the approach of the enemy, and ſerved only to precipitate their flight.

[p] Meteren, p. 139. Meurſii Auriacus, p. 130. Bentivoglio, p. 151.

The Spaniards threw all the blame of the failure of their enterpriſe upon their general; whom they accuſed of having been remiſs in his operations againſt the town, on account of a bribe of two hundred thouſand florins, which they alleged he had accepted, either from the States

PART II.

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1575. Negociations for peace.

THE difficulties which the Spaniards encountered in the ſeveral enterpriſes that have been related, gave Philip a very different idea of the ſpirit, vigour, and reſources of the malcontents, from what he had hitherto entertained; and determined him to liſten to an offer, which his couſin the emperor Maximilian made at this time, of mediating a reconcilement. Maximilian was prompted to interpoſe his influence, partly perhaps by concern for the intereſt of his kinſman, but chiefly by his apprehenſion, that through the cloſe connection which ſubſiſted between the Dutch and German proteſtants, the flame which raged with ſo much fury in the Low Countries, might at laſt diffuſe itſelf into Germany. Having therefore interceded with Philip to grant the inſurgents favourable terms, and obtained powers to negociate an agreement, he transferred theſe powers to count Schwartzenburg, whom he ſent into Holland, in the beginning of the year 1575, attended by ſeveral German nobles. On the count's arrival in Dort, he had an interview with his kinſman the prince of Orange; with whom he employed all his own influence, and that of the emperor, from whom he brought a confidential letter to the prince. From the reſpect due to the emperor, William conſented to a congreſs in the city of Breda. But as he could not be perſuaded, that Philip

States of Holland or from the people of Leyden. Whether there was any ground for this accuſation, does not appear with ſufficient evidence. But the ſoldiers flew to arms, ſeized his perſon and confined him, till he agreed to pay them the two hundred thouſand florins, which, they ſaid, he had received from the Hollanders.

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would be ever brought to offer conditions, which the States could accept with ſafety, he believed, that the treaty propoſed would prove abortive, and therefore he exhorted the States to keep themſelves in a poſture of defence, and to proſecute with vigour their preparations for renewing the war, when the congreſs ſhould be diſſolved. The prince himſelf was not of the number of the deputies; nor did thoſe who were appointed, though leſs obnoxious to Philip's reſentment, think it ſafe to truſt themſelves in the power of the Spaniards in Breda, till Romero, and Mondragone, and two other perſons of diſtinction, were ſent into Holland as hoſtages.

FROM the proceedings at this congreſs, and the mutual diſtruſt which the deputies diſcovered, the reader will eaſily perceive the cauſes which rendered ineffectual, not only the preſent attempt, but likewiſe all the endeavours which were afterwards employed, during the ſpace of forty years, to reconcile the contending parties.

March 14th. THE demands of the States of Holland and Zealand conſiſted of two articles; that the governor ſhould immediately diſmiſs the foreign troops; and that a general aſſembly of the States of all the provinces ſhould be held to determine the ſeveral points in controverſy, whether civil or religious.

IN anſwer to theſe requeſts, the Spaniſh deputies obſerved, that it was unreaſonable to call the Spaniards by the name of foreigners, ſince they were equally the ſubjects of the king as the people of the Netherlands, and had done him the moſt ſignal ſervice, in that very country from which he was now requeſted to expel them. That the Germans, French, and Engliſh, in the ſervice of the States, might with much greater propriety be denominated foreigners.

reigners. That the king did not intend, in caſe peace were eſtabliſhed, to retain the Spaniſh troops in the Low Countries longer than neceſſity ſhould require; but that it would be highly improper to urge him any further on this ſubject, as he could not, conſiſtently with honour, diſmiſs the forces in the preſent poſture of his affairs. They added, that after tranquillity was reſtored, the king would not be averſe to the convocation of the States, nor oppoſe their deliberating concerning ſuch affairs as properly belonged to them. That he would be ever ready to liſten to their counſel, and would regulate his conduct agreeably to it in every thing that was juſt and reaſonable. And that, in the mean time, he was graciouſly pleaſed to make them an offer of a full indemnity of their paſt offences, upon the following conditions: That all cities and forts, with their artillery and ſtores, ſhould be delivered into his hands; that every heretical form of worſhip ſhould be proſcribed; and that all ſuch perſons as were unwilling to forſake their errors, ſhould diſpoſe of their effects and leave the country.

To theſe declarations and offers of the Spaniſh deputies, thoſe of the States replied, that notwithſtanding what had been ſaid, they muſt ſtill adhere to their firſt requeſt of having the provinces delivered from the oppreſſion of the Spaniſh and other foreign troops. Theſe troops were indeed ſubjects of the king of Spain; but they were not ſubjects of the duke of Brabant, or the earl of Flanders, Holland, or any other of the provinces, in which therefore they could not be ſuffered to remain, without a violation of a fundamental law of the conſtitution. It was true, that the French and Engliſh troops were foreigners; but theſe troops had come into the Low Countries at the deſire of the States; they had never aſſumed to themſelves any ſhare in the

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government, and were deemed neceſſary by the States for their defence againſt the Spaniards; whereas the Spaniards had, from their firſt entrance into the Netherlands, treated the inhabitants as enemies and ſlaves; had arrogated to themſelves every important branch of the adminiſtration, and had, on many occaſions, exerciſed the moſt unrelenting cruelty, indulging, in the moſt abandoned manner, their lawleſs luſt and avarice, to the utter ruin of great numbers of the innocent and faithful ſubjects of the king. It would be impoſſible to reſtore tranquillity to the provinces while theſe men were allowed to remain, nor were they friends to the king or the peace propoſed, who adviſed him to retain them. If the ſervice which the king had received from his Spaniſh troops, were compared with the miſchief of which they had been the authors, it would be found that they had done infinitely greater harm than good; and that, by the lawleſs rapine which they had exerciſed, they had received much more than a ſufficient compenſation for all their ſervices. The inhabitants of the Low Countries were conſcious of having often contributed to advance the glory of the Spaniſh crown. Nor could even their late conduct, if juſtly conſidered, be interpreted as a breach of their duty to the king, ſince they had never oppoſed his exerciſing any rights which appertained to him as ſovereign of the provinces; and although they had taken up arms, they had never employed them but in vindicating thoſe rights and privileges which the king himſelf had ſworn to maintain, or in defending their lives and fortunes, their wives and children, againſt the violence and lawleſs tyranny of the Spaniards.

It gave them much concern to find, that the king would not agree to ſummon an aſſembly of the States till peace ſhould be reſtored,

reſtored, as they were convinced that no other means ſo effectual could be deviſed for eſtabliſhing peace on a firm and permanent foundation. It gave them ſtill greater concern to hear the deputies, in the name of the king, expreſs themſelves, as if they looked upon the States only as counſellors, whoſe advice he would or would not follow, according as he ſhould judge expedient. This they could not help conſidering as an intimation, that the States were to be limited in the exerciſe of their authority; and if this was intended, no uſeful purpoſe could be ſerved by calling them together. With the conditions annexed to the proffered indemnity, it was impoſſible they could comply. They could not deliver the cities and forts into the hands of the Spaniards, without being apprehenſive of the fraud exemplified in the fable of the war between the wolves and the ſheep, in which the latter were perſuaded to give up their auxiliaries the dogs into the hands of their crafty foes. For they had not forgotten the fate of the counts Egmont and Horn, and many others, who repented, when it was too late, of putting faith in promiſes which their enemies could violate with impunity. And with reſpect to the other condition, that all heretics ſhould quit the country, as they could not believe the religion now eſtabliſhed in Holland and Zealand to be heretical; ſo if all who had renounced the popiſh faith were to be deemed heretics, and expelled from the Netherlands, there would not be a ſufficient number left to keep the dikes in repair; the country would be ſtript of the greateſt part of its inhabitants, and ere long be buried in the waves. They concluded with intreating the deputies to take the repreſentation they had made in good part, as proceeding from their zeal for the intereſt of the king as well as of the provinces; and with praying Almighty God to inſpire the king and his miniſters with

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milder ſentiments than thoſe which they had hitherto embraced.

In the reply which was made to this remonſtrance, the Spaniſh deputies, after complaining of the ſpirit in which it was compoſed, ſaid that the king would ſo far comply with the requeſt relative to the foreign troops, as to ſend them away immediately after the terms of peace were ſettled; provided the States would at the ſame time diſmiſs the foreigners in their ſervice, and deliver up the cities and other fortified places. He would likewiſe ſummon the aſſembly of the States, as ſoon as the preſent diſturbances had ſubſided; but he could not, conſiſtently with his dignity, ſubmit to their deciſion, the conditions on which peace was to be eſtabliſhed; ſince this would be to abandon what he regarded as his peculiar prerogative, and to allow them to preſcribe where it was their duty to obey. In particular, he was determined never to refer to their deciſion the important queſtion concerning religion. The States, as well as the king, had ſworn to maintain the catholic faith; and no conſideration would ever prevail on him to ſuffer them to depart from it in the ſmalleſt article. He was not afraid of depopulating the maritime provinces by the expulſion of heretics; on the contrary, he believed that theſe provinces would flouriſh more, for that tranquillity which unity of faith would enſure; and if the heretical miniſters were removed, he doubted not that the people would ſoon perceive the folly into which they had been betrayed, and return into the boſom of the church.

May 31ſt. Final anſwer of the States.

The deputies of Holland and Zealand, after conſulting their conſtituents, gave the following as their ultimate reply, That

they

they were willing to refer the ſeveral points of difference, the diſmiſſion of the Spaniſh troops, the delivering of the cities, forts, and military ſtores, the nature of the ſecurity to be given for fulfilling the conditions of the peace, and even the article of religion, to the general aſſembly of the States of all the provinces: and they were willing, they ſaid, to make the laſt of theſe conceſſions, not from any intention of giving up their religion, which no conſideration would induce them to forſake; but from the deep concern which they felt on account of the long continued calamities of their fellow-citizens; to put an end to which, they were ready to abandon their native country, if the States ſhould find it neceſſary to eſtabliſh a religion, with which their conſciences would not ſuffer them to comply.

The conferences diſſolved.

COUNT Scwartzenburg now perceived that no greater conceſſion could reaſonably be expected. He repreſented to the governor, that conſidering how deep the proteſtant religion had ſtruck its roots in the maritime provinces, the extirpation of it could not be ſpeedily accompliſhed; and he urged him to grant a truce for ſix months, during which time the exerciſe of that religion ſhould be permitted, and every lenient meaſure employed to ſooth and conciliate the minds of the people. But Requeſens had not authority from the king to agree to this requeſt; and he refuſed to grant even a truce of two months, except on condition that the proteſtants ſhould abſtain from their mode of religious worſhip, and oblige their miniſters immediately to quit the country. With this condition Count Scwartzenburg knew that the maritime provinces would never be perſuaded to comply. He therefore deſpaired of being able to bring his negociation to the deſired iſſue, and ſoon after ſet out for Germany. The congreſs

was

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was diſſolved. The hoſtages were reſtored; and the contending parties, having their reſentment more inflamed than ever, applied themſelves to the proſecution of the war[p].

The war renewed.

July 12th.

THE deputies had no ſooner left Breda, than Requeſens publiſhed an edict, prohibiting all communication with the malcontents; and immediately afterwards ſent his troops, under the count de Hierges, to lay ſiege to the town of Buren; which they ſoon obliged to capitulate. From Buren they marched to Oude-water, and in ſpite of a brave and vigorous defence, they took it by ſtorm; exerciſing at this place their wonted fury, and putting the garriſon and all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction either of ſex or age. Hierges proceeded next to Schowen upon the Leck. The prince of Orange made haſte to ſend a reinforcement to the garriſon. But the inhabitants dreading the ſame fate as that of the people of Oudewater, obliged the garriſon to ſurrender. After which, Hierges directed his march towards Crimpen. Vitelli, in the mean time, with the forces under his command, reduced a number of places which lie between the Leck and the Vahal; and Mondragone was no leſs ſucceſsful in the quarter of Holland, which borders upon Brabant.

The governor undertakes the conqueſt of Zealand.

BUT Requeſens did not incline that his troops ſhould puſh their conqueſts in Holland any further at preſent. In compliance with his inſtructions, he reſolved to bend his whole attention to the reduction of ſome of the principal towns in Zealand, which Philip was deſirous of acquiring, for the reception of a fleet to be ſent from Spain. In order to accompliſh this deſign, Requeſens drew off his troops from Holland; and had, ſome time before, prepared a

[p] Meteren, p. 146—152. Bentivoglio, lib. ix. ab initio.

number

number of flat-bottomed veſſels, proportioned to the depth of the gulfs and canals. In theſe veſſels he intended to have tranſported his troops to Zealand; but the prince of Orange having received intelligence of his deſign, and collected a naval force of the ſame kind, much ſuperior in number, he relinquiſhed his firſt plan, and adopted another that ſeemed equally difficult and dangerous. This was to imitate what was done by Mondragone, when he raiſed the ſiege of Tergoes, and to make the ſoldiers wade through an arm of the ſea, which was five miles broad.

Bold and ſingular enterpriſe of the Spaniards.

In the north-eaſt parts of Zealand, there are three iſlands much larger than the reſt; Tolen, Duveland, and Schowen. Tolen, which lies neareſt to Brabant, was in the hands of the Spaniards; and between this iſland and Duveland, lies the little iſle of Philipſland, which is ſeparated from Duveland by the canal, or arm of the ſea, over which Requeſens intended that his forces ſhould paſs on foot. It was known from ſome experiments which had been made, that this canal was fordable; nor was it quite ſo broad as that which Mondragone's troops had paſſed over to the relief of Tergoes. But there was ſtill much reaſon to ſuſpect that the attempt would be found impracticable.

Such of the officers as were of this opinion, obſerved that there was a wide difference between the enterpriſe in queſtion, and that of Mondragone, whoſe men had no other obſtacles to encounter but thoſe of the paſſage, and needed only ſtrength and patience to enſure ſucceſs; whereas, in the preſent caſe, the enemy having taken the alarm, were continually upon the watch; and the ford was in a manner beſieged by their numerous veſſels, which were ready to attack the Spaniards, when they would be unable to defend themſelves. And even allowing that they

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ſhould ſurmount theſe difficulties, and effectuate their paſſage, yet what remained for them, on their approach to the oppoſite ſhore, but to be attacked by a freſh and vigorous enemy, advantageouſly poſted, before they could diſentangle themſelves from the mud and water.

By theſe conſiderations, ſome of the principal officers were induced to remonſtrate againſt the intended enterpriſe, as too hazardous and deſperate; and they were of opinion, that no attempt ought to be made on Zealand till the fleet from Spain ſhould arrive. But this prudent counſel was not ſuited to the bold intrepid ſpirit which animated the greater part of the Spaniſh officers. The remembrance of their former victories, joined to their contempt of the malcontents, inſpired them with confidence of ſucceſs; and they were unwilling to divide the glory of their conqueſts with their countrymen, who were ſuppoſed to be on their way from Spain. If this enterpriſe, ſaid they, be impracticable in the day, why may we not undertake it in the night; when we ſhall either elude the vigilance of the enemy; or, if they get information of our deſign, yet we ſhall have little reaſon to dread their efforts, as they will be obliged to fire their guns at random, and ſpend their force in air. The troops poſted on the other ſide to oppoſe our landing, will act, as their countrymen have often done on ſimilar occaſions. The boldneſs of our adventure, and the daring countenances of our men, will overwhelm their daſtardly ſpirits with diſmay and terror.

Requesens was not naturally fond of raſh or daring enterpriſes; but being exceedingly deſirous to carry his ſcheme of ſubduing Zealand into ſpeedy execution, he tranſported three thouſand ſelect troops, compoſed of an equal number of Spaniards,

Walloons, and Germans, to the iſle of Philipſland. Then having ordered d'Avila to attend him with the fleet, on board which he put one half of theſe forces, he gave the command of the other half, deſtined to attempt the paſſage, to Oſorio d'Ulloa, a Spaniſh officer of diſtinguiſhed courage, who had warmly exhorted him to undertake this bold and ſingular expedition.

On the 28th of September, as ſoon as it was dark, and the tide had begun to retire, Ulloa entered the water at the head of his troops, with the guides before him. The troops were followed by two hundred pioneers; and the rear-guard was formed by a company of Walloons, commanded by an officer of the name of Peralta. They could march only three men a-breaſt, on the top of a ridge of earth or ſand, and were often obliged to wade up to the ſhoulders, and to bear their muſkets on their heads, to preſerve them from the water. They had advanced but a little way, when the Dutch and Zealanders approached, and began a furious diſcharge of their ſmall arms and artillery. And not ſatisfied with this, many of them leaped into the water, and with hooks faſtened to the ends of long poles, laid hold of the ſoldiers, oppreſſed with the weight of the element through which they toiled; maſſacring ſome, and plunging others in the waves. Nothing but the darkneſs of the night, which prevented the two ſquadrons of the enemy's ſhips from acting in concert, could have ſaved the royaliſts from deſtruction. But, notwithſtanding the difficulties under which they laboured, they perſiſted bold and dauntleſs in their courſe, exhorting and aſſiſting one another; and without quitting their ranks, repelling the enemy, and defending themſelves as well as their deſperate circumſtances would allow. Their calamities increaſed as they approached to the oppoſite ſhore. For beſides, that their vigour was impaired, they had deeper water to

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paſs, and the enemy's ſhips could come nearer to the ford. At laſt, however, they reached the land, in time to ſave themſelves from deſtruction. The banks were lined with a numerous body of troops; and if theſe troops had behaved with an ordinary degree of reſolution, it is impoſſible that the Spaniards, drenched as they were with mud and water, and exhauſted with fatigue, could have ſtood before them. But unfortunately, in the beginning of the attack, their commander was killed, by an accidental ſhot of one of his own men. Conſternation ſeized his troops, and they fled in the moſt daſtardly manner, before an enemy unable to purſue.

THIS extraordinary adventure, though it ſucceeded beyond what could juſtly have been expected, was not executed without loſs. The pioneers were all either overtaken by the tide, or deſtroyed by the enemy. The rear-guard under Peralta ſaved themſelves by returning back. Of the troops under Ulloa, a conſiderable number was killed or drowned, and others wounded. But among the killed there was only one perſon of diſtinction, named Pacheco; concerning whom it is recorded, that being wounded by a muſket-ſhot, and unable to advance, and ſome of his men urging him to ſuffer them to bear him on their ſhoulders; he replied, "*That* would ſerve only to retard your march. My wound is mortal; I die, and not without ſome honour in ſo glorious an enterpriſe." Saying this, he ſunk down into the water [q].

[q] Bentivoglio, p. 168. This hiſtorian gives the ſame authority for the above-mentioned particulars, as for thoſe of the paſſage at Tergoes; the teſtimony of Rivas, governor of Cambray, who was an actor in both.

The Spaniards were not a little encouraged by an appearance then rare, but ſince familiar and common, an Aurora Borealis, or northern light; which ſhone all the time of their paſſage, and which they interpreted as a ſign wrought by Heaven in their behalf.

WHEN the Dutch and Zealanders ſaw that, in ſpite of their oppoſition, the royaliſts had accompliſhed their deſign, they quitted the canal, and went to give notice of what had happened to the inhabitants of the ſea-port towns, which they ſuppoſed the enemy intended to attack. Requeſens immediately laid hold of the opportunity which their departure afforded him, to tranſport the reſt of his forces to Duveland; where they joined their companions, and ſoon compelled all the proteſtant troops on the iſland to fly over to Ziricſee, the capital of Schowen.

THE reduction of that city was the immediate and principal object of the preſent expedition. For beſides, that Requeſens hoped, by poſſeſſing Ziricſee, to be able to diſturb the communication between Holland and Zealand, he conſidered it as the fitteſt place for the reception of the reinforcement which he expected from Spain; and he intended to make it the ſeat of his ſtrength in that quarter, till he ſhould collect a naval force ſufficient to enſure the conqueſt of Middleburg, Fluſhing, and the other towns in Walcheren. Towards Ziricſee, the army now commanded by Mondragone, proceeded without delay. Before they could reach it, they found it neceſſary to paſs over the canal, which ſeparates Duveland from Schowen, and on the oppoſite ſide of which they ſaw the enemy prepared to diſpute their paſſage. This did not deter them from the proſecution of their deſign. Animated by the example of their leaders, they leaped without heſitation into the canal, which was near a league over, having the bottom full of mud, and advanced forward with ſuch undaunted intrepidity, that the enemy, regarding them with aſtoniſhment, abandoned their ſtation, and left the paſſage free and undiſputed.

MONDRAGONE would have immediately begun the ſiege of Ziricſee, but thought it neceſſary before-hand to make himſelf maſter

The deſperate defence of Bommene.

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maſter of certain poſts, which the Zealanders had fortified, in order to ſecure the communication between the inhabitants of that town, and their friends in the other iſlands and on the continent. Theſe forts were three in number; one on the ſouth near Borendam, and the other two called Browerſhaven and Bommene, on the north and eaſt. Through the imprudent confidence of the Spaniards, who made an aſſault on the firſt of theſe forts too ſoon, it coſt the lives of ſixty of that nation, with Peralta their commander; beſides a conſiderable number of Germans and Walloons. The fort of Bowerſhaven ſubmitted without reſiſtance; but that of Bommene, which was better fortified, was likewiſe more valiantly defended than the other two. Du Lis, a French officer, commanded the garriſon, conſiſting of Germans, French, and Engliſh; into whoſe breaſts he had infuſed the ſame generous and dauntleſs ſpirit with which he himſelf was animated. The behaviour and fate of this brave determined garriſon deſerves a place in hiſtory. At the time of high water their fortification was impregnable, as at that time the ſea filled both the ditch which ſurrounded it, and a canal which paſſed through it; but at low water, and for ſome hours before and after that time, the ditch was fordable, and the enemy could advance to the very foot of the wall. Both Requeſens and Vitelli had come to direct the operations of the ſiege. Agreeably to their commands, the royaliſts, after approaching as near as poſſible to the ditch, by means of trenches, opened a large battery, which continued firing upon the fort for two days inceſſantly, till a ſufficient breach was made. Then waiting till the water had retired, they made a furious aſſault; but the beſieged withſtood their moſt vigorous efforts, and at laſt obliged them to retire, with the loſs of a hundred and fifty killed, and twice that number wounded. The Spaniards, enraged

raged on account of their repulſe and loſs, returned to the aſſault next day, and began to ſtorm the fort on different ſides at the ſame time. Both parties were highly agitated with fury and deſpair, and both were alike determined either to die or conquer. The proſpect of the returning tide wrought equally on the fears of the aſſailants, and the hopes of the beſieged. The former knew, that if they did not carry their point ſoon, they muſt a ſecond time ſuffer the ſhame and ſlaughter of a repulſe, and the latter conſidered, that if they could hold out a few hours longer, the water would deliver them for the preſent, and the enemy be perhaps deterred from renewing the aſſault. Incited by theſe reflections, the combatants on both ſides exerted all their vigour, and diſplayed a degree of fortitude and proweſs which ſeldom occurs in the annals of hiſtory. Each perſon regardleſs of his ſafety, and intent only upon annoying the enemy, the conflict was as bloody and deſperate, as the time was critical and important. It had laſted for near ſix hours, and many of the braveſt on both ſides had fallen. At laſt, the aſſailants, perceiving the quick approach of the tide, and collecting and exerting at once their whole force, overpowered the beſieged with their numbers, and burſt forward irreſiſtibly within the walls of the fort; in which the garriſon ſtill continued to reſiſt, till there was not a ſingle perſon left to enjoy the glory of ſo illuſtrious a defence. The royaliſts paid dear for their victory; above two hundred men, beſides thoſe who had fallen in the firſt aſſault, were killed upon the ſpot, and a much greater number wounded[r].

THEY now proceeded to the ſiege of Ziricſee; and in this undertaking their difficulties were greatly augmented, and the

The ſiege of Ziricſee.

[r] Meurſii Auriacus, p. 147.

ſiege

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ſiege prolonged by a reſolution of the inhabitants, who had broken down the dikes of the canal, and laid the adjacent country under water. This meaſure, of which the States of Holland had lately ſet the example during the ſiege of Leyden, ſhewed how firmly determined the citizens were to make a vigorous defence, and rendered impracticable all the ordinary methods of conducting ſieges, by trenches, batteries, and aſſaults. Mondragone perceived, that the reduction of Ziricſee muſt be a work of conſiderable time, and that the only expedient which he could employ, was to block it up on every ſide, ſo as to prevent the entrance of ſupplies. Theſe it could receive only by the way of a ſmall canal dug from Ziricſee, to the great one above-mentioned, which ſeparates Schowen from the iſle of Duveland.

In order to ſecure the communication between theſe canals, the Zealanders had fortified the banks of the ſmaller, where it is joined to the greater; and while they retained poſſeſſion of the batteries which they had planted there, they ſecured a free entrance to the ſhips which were ſent from Holland and Walcheren with ſupplies. To deprive them of this reſource, and lock up the mouth of the ſmall canal, was the firſt and principal object of Mondragone's attention. For this purpoſe he ſtationed his ſhips in thoſe parts where the water was deepeſt; and formed in the moſt ſhallow parts, an eſtacade, a work of a prodigious labour, which employed his troops for ſeveral months, and was attended with conſiderable bloodſhed. By perſeverance, however, he brought it at laſt to a concluſion; and then having drawn another ſtacado of the ſame kind, from an iſland which lay in the entrance of the canal, he joined the two ſtacados together by ſtrong iron chains, and thus rendered all acceſs impracticable.

DURING the progreſs of theſe operations, the proteſtants embraced every opportunity of introducing ſupplies into the city; and they were greatly favoured by the ſeaſon, which was ſo much milder than uſual, as to leave the river and canals navigable through the whole of winter. But in the beginning of February, the enemy's works were completed, and from that time, all attempts to relieve the beſieged, by the way of the ſmall canal, proved ineffectual. Their friends were therefore obliged to turn to another quarter.

IN the beginning of the ſiege ſeveral cuts had been made in the dike of the great canal, on the ſide of Schowen, in order, as was mentioned above, to overflow the country. Through one of theſe cuts, near the village of Dreiſcher, the prince of Orange propoſed to convey ſupplies to Ziricſee acroſs the inundation; and he committed the execution of his deſign to count Hohenloe, a German nobleman of the moſt unqueſtionable ſpirit and reſolution; but a ſtorm ariſing, and the Spaniards having encamped moſt of their forces, and planted batteries on the dike, cloſe by the cut, they obliged Hohenloe to retire. The prince, not diſcouraged by this check, prepared to make a ſecond attempt with a more powerful armament. And in order to animate his troops, he reſolved to conduct the enterpriſe himſelf.

The prince of Orange attempts in vain to relieve it.

HE reached Dreiſcher, and approached the cut, at the time of high water. In the beginning of the attack he threw the enemy into confuſion, made conſiderable ſlaughter among them, and carried off ſome pieces of cannon from their batteries. But the Spaniards, rouzed by the danger which threatened them, quickly recovered their ſtations, and made a bold and vigorous reſiſtance,

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till the tide began to retire; when the prince perceiving it to be impracticable to advance, was obliged, in order to ſave his fleet from deſtruction, to return into the great canal. Boiſſot the admiral, whoſe ſhip was much larger than the reſt, did not retreat in time; and his ſhip having ſtruck againſt the bottom, he himſelf, and about three hundred of his crew, either periſhed in the waves, or were killed by the enemy. This was the laſt attempt for the relief of the beſieged; who being at length overpowered with their miſeries, agreed to ſurrender the town into the hands of Mondragone; and that general, deſirous to put a period to ſo tedious an enterpriſe, granted them ſuch favourable terms as they were willing to accept [s].

THIS ſiege had laſted near nine months, and during all that time had occupied the greateſt part of the Spaniſh army.

Death of Vitelli.

BUT before the ſurrender of Ziricſee, other events had happened, which rendered thoſe that have been related of ſmall importance to either party; and which, while they diſappointed the hopes entertained by the Spaniards of completing the conqueſt of Zealand, in a great meaſure delivered the confederates from thoſe diſquieting apprehenſions which the late ſucceſs of the Spaniſh arms was calculated to excite. The firſt of theſe events was the death of Vitelli, who was, without controverſy, the ableſt and moſt experienced general at that time in the Netherlands.

Death of Requeſens.

VITELLI's death was quickly followed by that of Requeſens. In carrying on the ſiege of Ziricſee, much greater ſums had been neceſſary than he was able to ſupply. From Spain, he knew that, conſidering the exhauſted condition of the king's finances [t], occa-

[s] Meteren, p. 155. Bentivoglio, p. 170.

[t] Meteren, p. 156.

ſtoned by his war with the Turks, no money could be expected; and the States of ſuch of the provinces as retained their allegiance, were either unwilling, or unable to comply with his demands. Thus, great arrears were due to his troops, and they had already begun to mutiny, and to exerciſe the moſt intolerable oppreſſion on the people; to whom he had been obliged to grant the liberty of wearing arms for their defence, from a well-grounded apprehenſion, that if he had not permitted them to do this, they would have done it without his authority [u].

REQUESENS had too much ſenſibility, and too little ſtrength of mind, either to endure patiently the mortifications, or to encounter reſolutely the difficulties, to which he was expoſed. His vexation and chagrin preyed inceſſantly on his health and ſpirits, and at length brought on a fever, of which he died in a few days; leaving behind him a much higher character for civil, than for military accompliſhments, in which he was confeſſedly much inferior to his predeceſſor the duke of Alva [w].

[u] This liberty had been taken from them by the duke of Alva.

[w] Thuanus, tom. iii. p. 464. Strada, tom. ii. p. 35.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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